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DICTIONARY OF SOCIALISM

By

DOCTOR ANGELO S. RAPPOPORT

EDITOR OF "THE NEW GRESHAM ENCYCLOPÆDIA," AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF EUROPEAN NATIONS," "PRIMER OF PHILOSOPHY," "RUSSIAN HISTORY," "HISTORY OF POLAND," "PIONEERS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION," "LABOUR, SOCIAL REFORM, AND DEMOCRACY," ETC., ETC., REVISING EDITOR OF "THE HISTORIAN'S HISTORY OF THE WORLD"

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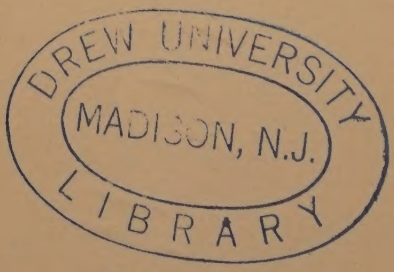

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PREFACE

Je ne propose rien,
Je ne suppose même rien,
J'expose.

THE present volume has been compiled in a spirit of perfect impartiality. Its purpose is to acquaint the reader with the theories and history of Socialism. It is, therefore, not a work written for the purpose of propaganda, either in favour of Socialism or against it, but an impartial Introduction to a vast subject of topical interest. If I am asked whether I am a Socialist myself, I cannot but frankly reply: *I do not know.* It all depends upon what one understands by Socialism.

There are many mansions in the House of Socialism. I have quoted about forty different definitions of Socialism (see *Definitions*) without being able to pretend that my list is exhaustive. Now, if Socialism means justice, equality, real democracy, love of humanity, altruism, tolerance and individual liberty, high moral ideals, peace and goodwill, then I venture to say that I am a Socialist. If, on the contrary, Socialism stands for the crushing of individual liberty, for despotism, tyranny, oppression and destruction, then I am an opponent of Socialism. If the real aim of Socialism is "to alter the too great inequality of wealth existing among men," to introduce an equilibrium by taking away from those who have too much, *without having worked for it*, and giving it to those who have too little, *in spite of hard work*, then I must admit that I am a Socialist at heart. If, however, Socialists are inspired by a spirit of plunder, intent upon picking the pockets of some—who have worked hard—and filling those of others who have done no work, then I am not a Socialist. If

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called an ideal for which men should fight and shed their blood. Is it worth while to shed blood and cause the misery of millions for the purpose of hurling some men from their pedestals in order to place others, who are equally selfish, equally ambitious, equally autocratic, in the seats of the mighty ?

Thus, Socialism, if it is not based upon really democratic principles, if it is not inspired by idealism, a high moral sense, altruism, love of humanity and *self-denial*, instead of abolishing class distinctions and inequalities, will only introduce new class-distinctions and inequalities in the place of those now in existence. Then where is the advantage of its triumph for the real proletarians, the toilers and sufferers ? Is not such a Socialism merely a bushel of chaff without a grain of truth hidden in it ? It is destructive without being constructive.

I may be accused of being a follower of Biblical, Christian or Utopian Socialism. But no one need be ashamed of being called an idealist and a dreamer, even in an age of materialism and of " economic determinism." Anyhow, I do not believe in either the " materialist conception of history " or in " economic determinism," and I am glad to say that I share my disbelief with many superior and better men than myself. No less a person than our present Prime Minister writes that " it is the mind of man with its ideals, its sense of right and wrong, which makes economic poverty and injustice a serious grievance."

With regard to the present Dictionary, I am aware of its shortcomings. To compile a Dictionary of Socialism which should not exceed the limits of a short volume was to attempt an almost impossible task, and I cannot pretend that I have accomplished this difficult task satisfactorily. The field is too wide, and I was obliged to be somewhat arbitrary in my choice of entries or articles, focusing my attention on the minimum number of terms, theories, programmes and especially names. I have had to confine myself to the Socialists of past ages, or to the " heroes " of the present century. I, therefore, apologize to the

numerous Socialists—whose names do not figure in the second part of this Dictionary—for the scant justice I have done them by not including their respective biographies. My excuse is that many of these biographies can be found in various *Who's Who's* or biographical dictionaries and that to reproduce them would only have meant to increase the bulk of this volume.

In conclusion, I take this opportunity to express my thanks to the librarians and assistants of the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the American Library in Paris, for the unfailing courtesy with which they treated my requests and for the facilities they afforded me for my research work.

ANGELO S. RAPPOPORT.

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PART I

DEFINITIONS, TERMS, THEORIES, HISTORY, PARTIES, AND PROGRAMMES

DICTIONARY OF SOCIALISM

Absenteeism is the practice of people to absent themselves from their country, or estates, deriving their income from sources within it, but spending their money elsewhere. It is especially applied to landed proprietors who, whilst absenting themselves from their estates, let them out to tenants and receive the rents which they spend elsewhere. Absenteeism also means the absence of the capitalist from the scene of production, the work being done by the salaried workers and wage-earners. Socialism, which aims at the establishment of a society wherein all would be workers, and where the land would belong to those who use it and cultivate it themselves, considers absenteeism as an evil. The practice, Socialists maintain, can only be abolished when the present capitalistic system is overthrown.

Action, Socialist. As long as Socialism had remained in the phase of theory, as long as it was sentimental and humanitarian, its only means of propaganda were literature and teaching. When, however, Socialism became scientific, basing itself upon economic facts and realities, and including in its programme the striving after political power, it began to employ other means of propaganda, such as the constitution of political parties, congresses, elections, formation of syndicates, etc.

Adat, or **Hadat,** a custom regulating the administration of the inhabitants of Java. It is a communal organization which has been quoted as a model by certain Socialists.

Agrarian Laws are the laws once enacted in ancient Rome and according to which public lands, or lands belonging to the State, i.e. those of the conquered peoples, were to be distributed among the plebeians and poorer people.

Socialists, who demand new laws and reforms for agricultural labourers, maintain that under the Socialist régime the land will be cultivated in common for the benefit of the collectivity.

Agrarian Party, political party in Germany, founded in 1869 in the interests of the landlords.

Agrarian Socialism, the Socialist doctrine which maintains that the State ought to nationalize all land, and thus abolish private ownership of the soil. Some Agrarian Socialists limit their demands to nationalization of land, but others consider this measure as the first step towards the introduction of collective ownership of all means of production. To the first group belonged J. S. Mill, Henry George, Russell Wallace, E. de Laveleye and Hertzka, whilst Thomas Spence is a typical representative of the latter conception. See *Land Nationalization.*

Allmende, a system of collective land tenure and of the communal goods. Part of it is left to the family, whilst the remainder is exploited by the collectivity of the inhabitants. There are allmenden in Switzerland, and in some districts of South Germany. The word means *domain common to all.*

Altruité, a word coined by Lassalle and meaning the appropriation by one of the goods and property belonging to another.

Amana Community, a Socialist community, consisting of eight villages in Jowa, North America, founded by the religious sect of the Inspirationists. They were first settled near Buffalo, in the State of New York, and accepted Communistic principles in 1842, at the suggestion of their spiritual head, the prophet, or the "instrument of God." The sect was founded in Würtemberg, in 1714, by Erasmus Gruber, and when Christian Metz became their leader he brought them over to the United States, in 1843. The Communism of the Amana Community is absolute.

Amorphisme, a term used by Bakunin to designate the social anarchic state which is to follow the *pandestruction.*

Anabaptists, Communism of the. The Anabaptists were a religious community which arose in Germany in the

sixteenth century, but they were better known for their Communistic and revolutionary doctrines and efforts. Founded by Nicolas Storch, they taught the equality of all Christians and the community of goods. Thomas Münzer, one of Storch's disciples, raised an insurrection of the peasants, which was, however, quelled and Münzer was beheaded. The Anabaptists were dispersed, but spread their doctrines wherever they went. In the United States they are known as Mennonites (q.v.). They pretended to complete the reform of Luther, and to reorganize society according to the evangelical doctrines, based upon a political and social equality. The aim of the Anabaptists was to extend their Communistic doctrines to entire society, and their Communism at once became militant and revolutionary. Cf. E. B. Bax, *Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists.*

Anarchism (Gr. *an*, privative, *arche*, government), social doctrine based on the principle of absolute liberty and the negation of governmental authority in the interrelations of individuals united in society. Anarchistic philosophy places the social ideal in the absolute reign of individualism, and dreams of a model society in which all individuals will be so enlightened, conscientious, and inspired by feelings of equality and brotherly love as to live in perfect harmony, without the necessity of governments, legislation, prisons or police. It is a dream which the best of men and the noblest thinkers have dreamt, an age predicted by the prophets, but which presupposes a complete change of human nature. The philosophical doctrine of Anarchism was proclaimed by Jean Jacques Rousseau, when he maintained that man is born good, and that evil is only the result of the constant restraint put upon individual liberty by governmental actions. Free man from all restraint and let him obey only the impulse of his liberated conscience, and he will live in brotherly harmony with his neighbours, without requiring written laws, governments, or police. Anarchism, therefore, does not waste time in criticizing the social economic order. It condemns in their entirety all the institutions of modern society—religion, family, property, governments, etc. It

denies the utility of the efforts made by Socialists to reconstruct society under a new form. The doctrine of Anarchism has been formulated by Godwin in his *Principles of Political Economy*, but the term Anarchy, as applied to social reform, was first used by Proudhon (q.v.).

The idea was further developed by Bakunin (q.v.). It was the latter who created an organization for the purpose of propagating and spreading the anarchic doctrine, as an ideal form of society (*Alliance de la démocratie sociale*). The *Bulletin* (1872-77), *The Avantgarde*, and the *Revolté* in Switzerland developed the anarchic doctrine. It was defined and formulated at the congresses of Ghent (1877), Marseilles (1879), and Lyons (1880). Anarchistic groups were founded all over France, in Paris, Lille, Creuzot, and Marseilles, and the journals *Révolution sociale* and the *Droit Social* were established. Another congress took place in London on July 14, 1881, where active propaganda was recommended. Recognizing the futility of spreading revolution by legal means and parliamentary action, the congress was of opinion that it was high time to carry the revolutionary propaganda into the domain of illegality, and to employ violent means. At the congress of August 12, 1882, which took place at Geneva, it was decided to publish a manifesto wherein the principles of Anarchism were set forth. Anarchism, like Communism, and in contradistinction to Collectivism or Socialism, demands: *From each according to his faculties; to each according to his needs.* Both politically and economically, Anarchism is opposed to Socialism. It advocates communal ownership of land and capital without State interference and control, and without obligation to work. Anarchism, however, does not always preach violence, as many leading Anarchists merely wish to spread their doctrines by means of education. Among famous Anarchists were Proudhon, Bakunin, Reclus, and Kropotkin. Cf. G. Plekhanoff, *Anarchism and Socialism*; A. Hamon, *Socialisme et Anarchisme.*

Annales Franco-Allemandes, a publication which appeared in Paris, and from 1844 propagated the ideas of Karl Marx and Engels. Heine collaborated in this organ.

Anti-Militarism. The Reform Socialists protest only against military intervention in strikes, and although they are against war, they nevertheless do their duty when war is once declared. Revolutionary syndicalists, repudiating the ideas of patriotism and country, are opposed to militarism in every shape and form, and are ready to strike in case of war.

Antinomy, in philosophy, is the apparent or real contradiction between two laws. In the philosophy of Hegel antinomy is a universal fundamental law, governing the material and moral worlds. Proudhon employed the antinomy as an argument against the economists.

Anti-Semitism, hostility to the Jews (Semites). Although in France and other countries Anti-Semitism has been employed even by Socialists as a weapon against Capitalism, Socialists maintain that the movement is a capitalist manœuvre.

A number of Jews have taken and still continue to take part in the movement of Socialism. Two of the principal leaders, Karl Marx and Lassalle, were Jews. In his introduction to *Ecclesiastes*, Ernest Renan says: "The Jew is not resigned, like the Christian. For the latter, poverty and humility are virtues; for the Jew, they are evils against which one must fight. The abuses and wrongs which leave the Christian unmoved call forth a sense of indignation and a feeling of revolt in the Jew; and it is for this reason that the Jews of modern times have become in our days, in every country where they exist, an element of reform and progress." Saint-Simonism and its financial mysticism are of Jewish origin. In the French revolutionary movement, the Jewish element has played an important rôle. Laveleye (*Le Socialisme Contemporain*) also writes that the Jews have everywhere been the initiators of Socialism. Socialism being a protest against a social order based upon injustice and iniquity, an aspiration towards an era of justice, it is natural that this doctrine should find adherents among the Jews, whose prophets and poets have constantly preached and sung of the hope of justice and equality, and who were the first to utter the cry of justice.

With regard to Socialism, it has naturally always condemned Anti-Semitism, the latter being in direct contradiction to the doctrine of Socialism.

Apprenticeship. The Socialist system of all schools is opposed to apprenticeship as it is practised. It is almost always an exploitation of child-labour. The reforms proposed by Radicals are insufficient, and Socialists see the abolition of the evil attendant upon apprenticeship only in the complete reorganization of scientific and professional education.

Arbeiterverein, Allgemeiner Deutscher, organization founded by Lassalle on May 22, 1863. Its purpose was to work for equal and direct suffrage. At the General Assembly of May 22, 1872, it was decided that only such delegates should be sent to the municipal and legislative bodies who would promise to work for the establishment of productive associations in accordance with the plan elaborated by Lassalle.

Arbitration. Councils of Arbitration are institutions established for the purpose of settling by reconciliation the differences arising between employer and employed. In Britain, Councils of Arbitration have existed since 1896 and have produced excellent results. In France, *Conseils des Prud'homme* were first instituted in 1806. Socialists advise the Syndicates and Unions to submit to arbitration wherever possible. They consider it, however, as a transitory means, the real goal of Socialism being the suppression and abolition of the wage-system.

Aristocracy (Gr. *aristos*, best, *kratein*, to rule), government by the best, or by a select class possessing a real or alleged superiority. They possess and claim this superiority either on account of race, birth, culture, or wealth. Aristocracy is thus based upon class-superiority, either of a class of priests, military chiefs, princes, or plutocrats and industrial and commercial magnates.

Socialism, which is a democratic movement and aims at the abolition of class superiority, naturally condemns aristocracy of any kind. It must, however, be pointed out that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which is one of the

tenets of Marxian Socialism, is really an aristocracy, the aristocracy of labour; and Bolshevism, as it now exists in Russia, is not consistent with Democracy (q.v.), as it tends to establish a privileged class of persons.

Art. Art has been defined by Walter Crane, one of the many artists who have been attracted by Socialism, as "a form of vital force applied to the expression of beauty." Socialists maintain that the present economic system, in other words the capitalist system, cannot but exercise a baneful influence upon art. Under the stress of commercialism, competition and struggle for life and livelihood, the artist becomes a mere business man and cannot produce the best in him. Socialism would do away with class superiority, with competition and commercialism. It would be favourable to art, as it would allow the artist, secure of his livelihood, to produce works of art not for individuals but for the collectivity, and to give his best in the interests of society. Cf. Walter Crane, *The Claims of Decorative Art.*

Artels, co-operative associations in Russia, established for the purpose of undertaking work jointly and dividing the profits. The artels may be traced back to the 13th or 14th century, but were greatly developed during the latter half of the 19th century, the most important being the industrial and artisan artels.

Atéliers Nationaux, national workshops established by the French Provisional Government in 1848. They were created for the purpose of carrying into effect the decree of "the right to work." Louis Blanc, who was a member of the Provisional Government, and who had advocated national enterprises, quickly convinced himself that the Atéliers had been started in a wrong spirit, and that moreover the government was doing its best to make the scheme a failure. He consequently demanded their abolition, and denied the assertion that he had ever been in favour of these workshops. The Atéliers Nationaux were abolished after having existed for four months and cost the State 15 million francs. See *Blanc*, Part II of this Dictionary.

Australia. Socialism, or at least the Labour Movement

and the request that industry should be regulated by the State, may be traced in Australia to 1890, when strikes of shearers and seamen took place. The Labour Party was formed in 1892. During the European War, the followers of Hughes, then Prime Minister, in favour of conscription, seceded and formed the National Labour Party, whilst the original party was called the Australian Labour Party. In 1919-20 the Australian Socialist Party, adopting the doctrines of Marx, was founded, and the Australian Communist Party came into existence towards the end of 1920. Socialism is gradually spreading in Australia and New Zealand, as the Labour Movement there has assumed very radical tendencies. Cf. W. E. Walling, *Socialism of To-day*.

Austria, Socialism in. The Socialist Movement in Austria dates from the eighteen-seventies. From 1881-1888 the Socialists in Austria were engaged in a perpetual struggle between the two parties: the moderate and the radicals. In spite of the persecutions of a government inspired with Bismarck's method against Socialism, they continued to work until they gained the adherence and collaboration of Dr. Victor Adler. Adler, who belonged to a group of radical intellectuals, soon convinced himself of the incapacity and inactivity of the bourgeois radicalism, and came to the conclusion that any serious social reform could only be attained with the help of the proletariat. He soon became an ardent follower of Marx. In 1886 he founded in Vienna a weekly paper, *Die Gleichheit* (*Equality*), which was transformed afterwards in the daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the principal organ in German of the Socialist Party. The success of the efforts of Dr. Adler were considerable. Between 1893 and 1907 the party fought hard for universal suffrage against the reactionary and clerical aristocracy. Following the example of the Socialist Movement in Belgium, the Austrian Party proclaimed a general strike and obtained in 1897 the first electoral reform.

In 1901 the Socialists were at last able to send ten representatives to the Austrian Parliament. Of these seven were

Czechs, two Germans, and one Pole. In 1907 the suffrage was democratized to a greater extent, and the general elections showed that Austrian Socialism occupied the second place after Germany. The Socialists polled 1,047,000 votes, and 87 deputies were elected. At the elections of 1911 the Socialists gained a complete victory at Vienna, though in the provincial cities they lost several seats. They polled 1,060,000 votes, 19,000 more than in 1907, but their representation fell to 82 in an assembly of 576. During the European War the Austrian Socialists supported the war, and only a very slight minority in their ranks were against it. In October 1918 the Revolution broke out, and the Habsburgs were deposed. Austria-Hungary, the dual-monarchy, ceased to exist, and a number of independent national States were set up, Austria now comprising only the old German Austria. During the elections, which took place soon afterwards, the Social Democrats had a majority. The radical proletarian elements became very strong, but the establishment of a Soviet Republic was impossible, owing to Austria's serious industrial condition, and dependence upon the Allies. The Bourgeois-Socialist Coalition continued to exist, and in 1920 the Socialists sent 66 representatives to Parliament. The Left elements of the Social Democratic Party, led by Friedrich Adler, have still failed to overthrow the Bourgeois Socialist Coalition and to seize the power. The Communist groups are increasing, but are still weak in numbers. Cf. Jean Longuet, *Le Mouvement Socialiste International.*

Babouvism, a theory according to which all men have equal rights and equal duties; work, and the benefit derived from it, ought, therefore, to be common to all men. Babouvism aims at the abolition of the distinction existing between rich and poor. See *Babeuf.*

Belgium. Socialism in Belgium may be traced to the middle of the last century. Among the first proletarian organizations may be mentioned the Société des Tisserands de Gand, founded in 1857. In 1867 it constituted the Belgian Section of the International, and laid the foundations of the Co-operative *Vooruit.* Several other sections

of the International were subsequently established all over Belgium, and strikes multiplied between 1871 and 1873. Among the founders and leaders of the Belgian Socialist movement in those days were César de Paepe, Hector Denis, and Guillaume Greef. In 1876 Edouard Anseele founded the *Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Flamand* at Gand, whilst the Parti Socialiste Brabançon came into being at Brussels. The two parties amalgamated in 1879, adopting the name of *Parti Socialiste Belge*.

The *Parti Ouvrier*, or Belgian Labour Party, was organized in 1885, and its first parliamentary success was obtained in 1894, when twenty-four Socialists were elected to the Chamber. Adopting the so-called Revisionist (q.v.) Socialist doctrines, Belgian Socialists are opposed to revolutionary tactics and measures. At the election of 1919 the Belgian Socialist Party had another victory, and the President of the Chamber was chosen from among the Socialist deputies. " The immediate programme of Belgian Socialism postulates the abolition of the Monarchy and of the Senate and the establishment of a Republic, with absolute religious freedom, repeal of laws against strikes and the introduction of the eight-hour day. In 1919 the Socialist Party of Belgium decided to participate at the Berne International Conference. In November of the same year the Socialists returned seventy members to the Chamber of Deputies. Cf. Louis Bertrand, *Histoire de la démocratie et du Socialisme en Belgique*.

Berlin, Conference of. In the beginning of his reign, the ex-Kaiser William II seemed inclined to introduce certain social reforms. He therefore convened an international conference in Berlin in 1890, and submitted the questions of labour organization and the fixation of a normal working day. This attempt raised the indignation of the capitalists and of the financial and industrial magnates, with Bismarck at their head. The attempt, however, of the Emperor gained him a momentary popularity, and the German Socialist leader, Liebknecht, declared at a meeting in Brunswick that the projects of William II had the approbation of one and a half million Socialist electors.

Bethel Community, the name of a flourishing Communistic settlement, founded by German peasants in 1840, in the State of Missouri, under the leadership of Dr. Keil. In 1855 Keil founded another Communistic settlement at Aurora. He died in 1877, and the Bethel Community dissolved in 1880.

Bible. Christian Socialists hold that the Bible contains the first elements of modern Socialism. Thus Kingsley and the German Christian Socialist Todt maintained that from the Bible we may draw all the principles for social reconstruction. Kingsley called the Bible the Reformer's Guide. See also *Christian Socialism.*

Black List, a list of employers who are supposed to treat their workers unfairly. On the other hand, black lists are also compiled by employers, and upon these lists figure the names of workmen who are or have been active in labour agitations, or belong to Socialist organizations.

Bolshevism, a term applied to the social doctrine upon the basis of which the Russian Soviet Republic was established in 1917. In reality, however, Bolshevism denotes neither a philosophy nor a social theory. The term is the result of an incident, and but for that we might have spoken of the social system prevalent in Russia as *Menshevism.* At the Socialist Congress held in London in 1903 a split occurred among the members of the Russian Social Democratic Party (founded in 1884 by Plekhanov, Vera Sassoulitch, Deutsch, and Axelrod). It broke into two factions: The Bolsheviki or majoritaires, headed by Lenin, and the Mensheviki or minoritaires, whose leaders were Plekhanov, Martov, and Dahn. The Bolsheviki would have nothing to do with the liberal and democratic bourgeoisie, being emphatically in favour of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Mensheviki, on the other hand, were of opinion that it would be wrong, nay dangerous, to alienate the sympathies of the liberal and democratic bourgeoisie. The followers of Lenin were in a *majority,* and thus became known as the *Bolsheviki,* and when they triumphed in Russia in 1917, their doctrine, which is simply Marxian Socialism carried to its utmost

conclusion, was called Bolshevism. In addition, however, to the famous Dictatorship of the Proletariat (q.v.), Bolshevism, as a Socialist doctrine, has added oppression and extermination of the bourgeois classes and of all intellectual workers. It has applied the Dictatorship of the Proletariat not to a state of society, but to a form of government. Cf. John Spargo, *Bolshevism.*

Bourgeoisie, a term referring etymologically to the old class of freemen or burgesses residing in towns. Originally it was applied in France to those who belonged neither to the nobility nor to the clergy, and it corresponds to the English term " middle-classes." The term *bourgeoisie* first originated in the designation " la bourgeoisie de 1830." It was then applied by Jean Reybaud (in the *Encyclopédie Nouvelle*) to the people who were above want.

From the Socialist point of view, the bourgeoisie is the class which has made the Revolution for its own benefit, the class which, being in possession of capital and of all the instruments of labour, benefits without right by the unjust wage-system, based upon the principle of supply and demand. It is thus the third estate, in contradistinction to the fourth estate or the Proletariat (q.v.). Socialism establishes the antinomy of bourgeoisie and proletariat, and emphasizes the difference existing between the two classes. The theory was popularized by Louis Blanc in *Histoire des Dix Ans,* and *Histoire de la Révolution Française.* The contrast between bourgeoisie, or the exploiting class, and the proletariat, or the producing, working but exploited class, has been particularly developed since 1830, both in England and in France. Previously, the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat had fought side by side against the feudal régime, but in the course of the 19th century the contrast became clear, and they are now opponents. Cf. Doniol, *La prétendue antinomie de bourgeoisie et de peuple.*

Boycott, or **Boycotting,** systematic refusal of the consumers to buy commodities from those merchants and dealers who refuse to agree to certain conditions. In other words, commercial or social ostracism. The term is derived

from Captain Boycott, in Ireland, who was submitted in 1880 to the treatment of being cut off from all intercourse with his neighbours. The boycott is used as a combination against employers. It is declared justifiable by Socialists, and is also made use of in trade unionism, but as a rule Socialist leaders do not recommend boycotting. They look upon it as an economic weapon which can be efficacious only when made use of by a vast number of workmen. Cf. H. N. Laidler, *Boycotts and the Labour Struggle.*

Brethren of Social Life. A fraternity founded in 1376 by Groote and Badewin, and who endeavoured to follow the life led by early Christian societies. Among the practices of the fraternity was community of goods. The Brethren of Social Life afterwards amalgamated with the Moravians (q.v.).

Brook Farm, a Communistic association founded in the U.S. in 1842 by George Ripley, who was encouraged by Dr. Channing. The community consisted of members belonging to all states of society—clergymen, merchants, farmers, working-men, scholars, and authors. Among the latter were Ripley, Dana, Dwight, and others. It is for this reason, perhaps, that Brook Farm became better known than any other Communistic community. It was not so much a community as a common possession of a limited company. In their organ, *The Dial,* it was stated that the goal of the community was to grow rich, not in worldly goods, however, but in happiness and peace of mind. Hawthorne lived there for a time, and Emerson was a frequent visitor. It was dissolved in 1847. Cf. J. T. Codman, *Brook Farm Memoirs* (Boston, 1849); Russell, *Home Life of the Brook Farm Association* (1900); L. Swift, *Brook Farm: Its Members, Scholars, and Visitors* (1900); Sears, *My Friends at Brook Farm* (1912).

Brussels, Congress of. This Congress, the third after the formation of the International, was held between the 5th and the 11th of September. Attended by ninety-eight delegates, it was interesting for two reasons. First, the Congress, which had adopted the formula of "War upon War," imagined that by means of general strikes

it could prevent the already threatening conflict between France and Germany which was to break out in 1870. Secondly, the struggle between the followers of Proudhon and the disciples of Marx ended in the triumph of the latter. At this Congress the International, from being only an association for the purpose of obtaining an increase of workmen's wages, became a political Socialist organization endeavouring to obtain such political and economic reforms as would prepare the way for the ultimate introduction of a collective régime, the abolition of the salariat and of private property. See *International.*

Cabaliste, one of the passions described by Fourier in his social system. Cabaliste is the party spirit, the mania of intrigue, very prominent among courtiers and merchants. It is, according to Fourier, the tenth of the twelve passions which sway the universe. This passion, very hurtful in the present state of society, will become very useful in a collective State, as it will stimulate the amour-propre of the different groups. See *Fourier.*

Ca' Canny, a Scottish term meaning " go slowly." It is a system employed by working men in order to diminish the profits of the employer. Without actually going on strike, the working men obtain results of strike in hurting the employer. See *Sabotage.*

Canada. Socialism in Canada may be traced to 1890, when the Socialist Party was organized. In 1911 the Social Democratic Party was formed. A Labour Party was created in 1917, and its programme was approved of by the Trades and Labour Congress held in September 1917.

Capital. Capital, in economics, is wealth which is used as a means of producing additional wealth, and not simply as a means of directly gratifying desire. Originally the word was used as an adjective of the expression *Capital-stock.*

Socialism, and particularly Marxian Socialism, asserts that capital is not wealth used for the production of wealth, but as a means employed to exploit labour. Capital, under the present régime, is the instrument of production which capitalists employ for the exploitation and enslave-

ment of labourers. Capital is nothing more nor less than "dead labour which becomes animate by sucking living labour, and, like a vampire, the more labour it sucks the more it lives."

The Socialist view of capital is thus what has been called the "theory of exploitation." It means that whilst labour alone produces goods which have any value, the capitalist, by being the owner of the means of production, retains part of the product of labour which, by rights, ought to belong to the producer. This theory, based upon the economic doctrines of Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Sismondi, has been developed by Proudhon in France, Robertus, Marx, and Lassalle in Germany.

Capital, Marx asserts, is never the result of thrift or economy. It is the fruit of dead labour, or "congealed labour."

Capital is accumulated labour, and is not the property of the employer or the capitalist, but in strict justice belongs to the workman or labourer. Under the Capitalist régime, capital, which dominates the economic movement, is the property of private individuals constantly struggling for increase of wealth. Industrial operations are carried out by individual capitalists who employ labourers, nominally free, but in reality slaves. By appropriating the *surplus value* (q.v.) the capitalists grow rich and accumulate private wealth.

Starting from the above-mentioned premises, Socialists maintain that private capital, whenever it is not in the sole possession of him who produced it, constitutes a theft or a robbery. As, however, capital will always be formed as a result of the accumulation of the value of work produced, two theories are prevalent with regard to its disposal. Collectivists, whilst postulating the collective ownership of all means of production, allow the private possession of all capital of consumption.

Communists, on the contrary, maintain that both capital of production and capital of consumption ought to belong to the collectivity, consumption as well as production being regulated and controlled by the community. "No one

possesses anything, and everybody possesses everything, all wealth being common property." Everybody is compelled to work in accordance with his capacity and receives remuneration according to his requirements. No labour value is to be accumulated by anyone except the collectivity, who will employ it either for further production or for common consumption.

Thus, whilst Socialists maintain that capital in every shape and form is accumulated labour, the *utility* of capital is never contested by Socialists. Neither do Socialists deny the necessity of accumulating capital. What they protest against is the usurpation of capital by those who have not produced it, as capital ought to remain the property of the producer or of the collectivity.

It is, therefore, a mistake to say that Socialists wish to abolish capital.

Socialism does not aim at the suppresson of capital, collective or even private, but at the abolition of Capitalism or of the social and economic system in which the private owners of capital predominate and have the entire control of labour. Instead of being controlled by one class, capital ought to be under the collective social control, for at present Capitalism only results in the misery and degradation of the working classes. Cf. F. Muckle, *Die Geschichte der Sozialistischen Ideen im 19ten Jahrhundert* (1908); W. Sombart, *Sozialismus und Soziale Bewegung im 19ten Jahrhundert.*

Capital is the title of the famous work by Karl Marx, called the " Gospel, or the Bible of Socialism." Whilst the Communist Manifesto (see Manifesto, Communist) drafted by Engels and Marx laid the foundation of a general theory of the Proletarian Movement, the *Capital* may be defined as the " work expounding political economy from the viewpoint of the proletariat." Adam Smith and Ricardo, two British political economists, and who, even Socialists admit, were the precursors of Marx, had already spoken of labour as the source of value. Both Ricardo and Smith, however, spoke in the interests of either the ruling classes or of society in general. They did not draw the

same conclusions as did Marx. Declaring that labour is the sole source of value and of social wealth, Marx endeavoured to prove that the proletariat, or the working classes, constitute the corner-stone of political economy. He defined labour which creates value as " socially necessary," all other labour being only a waste of time. In his great work Marx is endeavouring to prove that the social movement and conditions operating in history are a natural process determined by laws. These laws are not only independent of human will, conscience and intentions, but, on the contrary, determine the latter. By means of a scientific analysis Marx establishes the necessity of a series of social relations and economic eras. He then goes on to prove that the present economic system, whether we like it or not, will be necessarily replaced by another. Economic life is, according to Marx, similar in its evolution to biological phenomena, and the laws of economy are to be compared to those of biology instead of to the laws of physics and chemistry, as explained by the older economists. Marx, to quote Lafargue, not only describes the economic phenomena and their action upon the social milieu, but also minutely analyses the evolution of these laws and their influence upon social organizations.

The present era is that of Capitalism, i.e. " the possessors of capital are the ruling power." Marx, therefore, describes the rise of capital, and shows that its success is to be found in *surplus value* (q.v.). But along with the development of capital and of the bourgeoisie the proletariat, too, develops and increases in class consciousness and in strength. The proletariat, having been reduced to the status of slaves of the capitalists, are compelled to wage war against capitalists and bourgeois, at first individually, then in groups, and ultimately collectively.

Describing the process of development of Capitalism, Marx also described the development of the Proletarian Movement. " The Proletariat is the grave-digger of Capitalism." The Capitalist system carried to excess, and the concentration of capital in the hands of the few, will result in the " inability of capitalists to control the

industrial world." The concentration of the means of production will attain such a degree that, incompatible with the capitalist framework, they will break it. The proletariat will then unite against the capitalists who are detaining in their hands the means of production, expropriate the former expropriations, and introduce the system of collective property. To this historical process, which Marx foretells, he applies a purely Hegelian term.

He calls it the *Negation of Negation.* Whilst the capitalists had denied the private property of the workers, the proletarians, who are to become the masters, will deny capitalist property and make restitution to the rightful owners who are the producers.

The first volume of Marx's *Capital* appeared in 1867. It treats of the development of capitalist production. The second and third volumes were issued, after Marx's death (1883), by Engels in 1885 and 1894. A detailed explanation of the first volume will be found in Edward Aveling's excellent work *The Student's Marx* and in the *Résumés* of Gabriel Deville and of Carlo Cafiero. The English translation of the *Kapital* was done by W. Moore and E. Aveling. See also K. Kautsky, *Karl Marx's Oekonomische Lehren.*

Capital, Fixed and Variable. By fixed capital Marx understands that portion of capital which serves for the acquisition of new means of production. Variable capital, on the other hand, is the portion used for the acquisition of labour force.

Capitalism is the economic régime of production based upon the individual appropriation of capital. Capitalism is to be distinguished from capital. Under Capitalism Socialists understand the economic régime based upon the individual and private possession of capital as instrument of production. Capitalism is the political and economic power effected by the possession of capital, possessing absolute freedom to accumulate it and thus regulate at will both production and consumption. "Capitalism," writes Mills (*The Struggle for Existence*, p. 21), "is the private appropriation, by the few, of the products of the many with no one able to produce without the consent of some private owner.

It involves the unmerited wealth of those who are idle, and the unmerited poverty of those who are the creators of all wealth." The purpose of Socialism is to put an end to the abuse of Capitalism by introducing collective ownership of all that society must collectively use. Cf. Hobson, *The Evolution of Capitalism.*

Capitalist Régime. The Capitalist régime, according to Marx, arose in the 16th century, when large proprietors encroached upon the small farmers and, driving them into towns, compelled them to sell their labour force to those who were in possession of the means of production. Invention of machinery further developed the industrial system and increased the number of workmen. See *Industrial Revolution.*

Carmagnole, a revolutionary song and dance which became known during the French Revolution, especially after the storming of the Tuileries, on August 10, 1792. The song became very popular and rivalled the *Marseillaise.* It began with the line, " Mme. Véto avait promis," and ended with the following refrain, " Dansons la Carmagnole, vive le son du Canon."

Catastrophism, social, a theory of some Socialists, and especially of revolutionary Syndicalists, who count upon a social catastrophe, such as a general strike, to introduce a new economic and social régime.

Catechisme Révolutionnaire, a work attributed to Bakunin, and read by the public prosecutor during the process of Netshaev in 1871. An extract is given by Laveleye in his work *Socialism of To-day.*

Centralization, a term applied to the theory which is in favour of administering all matters of the State by a central government instead of local authorities. Whilst Anarchism is in favour of decentralization, Socialism postulates centralization.

Chartism, a radical political movement in Britain which arose in 1837 and lasted until 1848. It was the expression of discontent of the British working-men. The term Chartism is derived from the People's Charter, drawn up by six members of the Working Men's Association and six

radical members of Parliament. Dissatisfied with the Reform Bill of 1832, the working-classes clamoured for an immediate amelioration of their miserable situation. Chartism was thus both a political and a social movement. The six points of Chartism embodied in the Bill were as follows: (1) Universal manhood suffrage; (2) Equal electoral districts; (3) Vote by ballot; (4) Annual Parliaments; (5) No property qualification for members; (6) Payment of members of Parliament. The Chartist movement made rapid strides, and vast meetings were held all over the country, often attended by 200,000 and 300,000 persons. In May 1839 a body elected by the Chartists and calling themselves the National Convention began its sittings at Birmingham. Some of the Chartists were for peaceful measures, whilst others were inclined to use force. A petition in favour of the People's Charter was presented to the House of Commons, but was turned down, and disturbances and riots broke out all over the country. In 1848 the Chartist movement received a new stimulus from the French Revolution, and a great demonstration took place in London. The petition was taken to the House of Commons, but the intended procession was abandoned, the Government having taken special precautions and enrolled about 200,000 special constables. Chartism disappeared, but its demands have since been granted.

The influence of Chartism upon the Socialist movement has been considerable, as it was for the first time that the working-classes had become conscious of their rights, and protested against the appropriation by capitalists of the *surplus value* (q.v.) of their labour. Cf. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement.*

Christian Socialism is Socialism applying the principles of Christianity to social problems, or Socialism based upon the principles of the New Testament and the doctrines of Christ. The term was first used in England in 1849, and was invented by Maurice. The Christian Socialists who founded the movement did not, however, adopt the doctrines of modern scientific Socialism, as, for instance, class

warfare and dictatorship of the proletariat. Their aim was simply to Christianize Socialism, by applying religion to economics, and to introduce co-operation in the place of economic competition.

Christian Socialism originated in England in 1848, when Charles Kingsley, Frederick Denison Maurice, and others started the Christian Socialist Movement for the purpose of introducing Christianity as a guiding principle into every-day life. Impressed by the existing widespread distress, the evils of unlimited competition and the miserable state of the working-men, these pioneers hoped to bring about a fusion of Church and State, or of the theories of communism and property. It was thus an endeavour to secularize Christianity. For Christian Socialists maintain that the germs of Socialist, Collectivist, and even Communist ideas are contained in Christianity, which preaches the brotherhood of man, mutual love and equality of all. Denouncing the rich and idle, Christianity praises the poor and impresses the idea of the dignity of labour.

The men who founded Christian Socialism were convinced that Christianity and Socialism were closely connected, and that if man only obeyed divine laws all social abuses would disappear. The reigning industrial system and all its consequences would give way to a happy social system, if humanity would apply the teaching of Christianity to social life, and if the Church would not limit itself to spiritual and Church matters, but make an attempt to *permeate* the world with the social teachings of Christianity. The aim of Christian Socialism in England was to introduce Christianity as an active factor and guiding principle into business life.

In Germany, Catholic Christian Socialism was introduced by Wilhelm v. Ketteler, Bishop of Mayence, whilst Protestant Christian Socialism owed its origin to Victor Aimé Huber, and was afterwards advocated by Pastor Todt. In France, Claude Fauchet formed the Bouche de Fer, in 1790, and several Christian Communist clubs. Buchez, and above all Lamennais, may be called Christian Socialists. Cf. E. de Laveleye, *The Socialism of To-day* ; M. Kaufmann,

Christian Socialism; B. F. Westcott, *Social Aspects of Christianity*; R. Flint, *Socialism*; Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis.*

Circulus, Theory of the. The theory was propounded by Pierre Leroux, who maintained that man is at once a producer and a consumer, and that in his very consumption of goods he also produces. Consumption is, therefore, not only the goal of production, but is also its cause. Life results from death, and production results from consumption. Every man has a right to live, because by consuming he also produces. This Socialist theory of Leroux is opposed to *Malthusianism* (q.v.).

Cité du Soleil, a famous work by Campanella (q.v.) giving an imaginary description of a theocratic and communist republic. Convinced that individual interest is at the root of all social evils, Campanella postulated the abolition of private property. In his model city neither property nor family will exist. Men will lead a monastic life, and the education of the children will be confided to the community. Labour, in the City of the Sun, will be as attractive as possible, and reproduction will be a social duty. The City of the Sun is the work of a monk, who, whilst indignant against the existing social iniquities and dreaming of justice and equality, was under the influence of monastic communism. Campanella's idea of attractive labour was taken up by Fourier, and the theory of theocratic organization was developed by St. Simon.

Class War is the struggle of the Proletariat, grouped as a class, against the Bourgeoisie, for the purpose of abolishing the existing Capitalistic régime, private property and production. The theory of class struggle, or of class warfare, is one of the conclusions of the Marxian doctrine. The proletariat, Marx maintains, in order to abolish the present existing system of private property and mode of production, should constitute itself into a distinct class, and fight the bourgeoisie. Class struggle is now one of the fundamental principles of Scientific Socialism (q.v.), as distinguished from Utopian (q.v.), Christian (q.v.), and Evolutionary Socialism. See *Revisionism.*

In the Communist Manifesto, drafted by Marx and Engels, the authors point out that "the thread of class struggle runs through the whole history of mankind ever since the introduction of private property and the subsequent clash between individual and class interests."

The history of humanity from the most ancient down to modern times is the history of class struggle, of masters and slaves. Patricians, barons and serfs, oppressors and oppressed, have constantly waged wars, ending either in a revolutionary transformation of society or in the destruction of both belligerents.

The modern bourgeois society has not put a stop to class war, nor has it abolished the antagonism it has inherited from the feudal ages. It has merely substituted new antagonistic classes to those of antiquity and mediævalism. Two distinct classes have now taken the place of the old ones, namely, a capitalist bourgeoisie and a proletariat. The Proletariat creates the wealth which the Capitalist Bourgeoisie, without working, usurps and enjoys. But class war is not a postulate of Socialism. It is an historical fact to which Marx has called attention, and which, he maintained, will continue in the political and economic domains as long as the present capitalist system exists. On the contrary, Socialism aims at the abolition of class war by introducing a new system and by establishing a collective society. It is the duty of the proletariat during its struggle against the bourgeoisie to be conscious of its existence as a class, and to endeavour to weaken and destroy the strength of the bourgeoisie, but the ultimate aim of Socialism is to put an end to class war by abolishing class interests and class distinctions. Many Socialists are opposed to the idea of class war, and are anxious to "throw it out of the armoury of Socialist arguments," because it defeats the realization of the ideal state of peace and comfort which the leading spirits of mankind have always placed before them as a goal. Thus, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who evidently belongs to the school of Evolutionary Socialism or Revisionism, and whom one might even be tempted to call a Social Reformer and

Labour Leader rather than a Socialist, writes as follows: "The motive force of Socialism is not the struggle, but the condemnation of the struggle by the creative imaginative intelligence and by the moral sense. The conflict is an incident in an evolution towards complete social harmony, and the motive for the evolution is not economic, but intellectual and moral" (*The Socialist Movement*, p. 148). The late Keir Hardie was also an opponent of the idea of class war, and clearly expressed his views in an article in the *Labour Leader* (1904). See Diehl, *Ueber Sozialismus*, p. 379. Cf. K. Kautsky, *Das Erfurter Programm* (1908); F. Engels, *Die Entwickelung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft.*

Classes, Social. According to Marx (*Capital*, vol. ii.) there are only two social classes, namely, workmen or proletarians, who only dispose of their labour force, and capitalists, who have the monopoly of all social means of production, including money. In other words, society is divided into exploiting and exploited classes, masters and slaves.

The existence of distinct classes was necessary in the past for the development of society, but this is no longer the case.

Code de la Nature. Famous work by Morelly (q.v.), in which the author expounds his Communist doctrines. Man, according to Morelly, is born not vicious and wicked, but good, and only our social institutions have made him selfish and bad. Private property is the root of all social evil, and even if man were not stimulated by private interest he would nevertheless work, because laziness is not innate in human nature. It is an acquired social vice. Upon these ideas Morelly bases the Communistic organization of society. The *Code de la Nature* appeared in 1875, and was first attributed to Diderot.

Collectivism is a social system which aims at substituting collective for private property in the means of production, thus replacing capitalist competition by the social organization of labour, the agents of production being owned and managed by the collectivity. Abolishing

all private possession of capital and land, Collectivism implies their being owned and controlled socially or collectively. The term Collectivism is frequently used as synonymous with Socialism, although the latter term includes theories which differ from Collectivism. Collectivism is also termed *Scientific Socialism*, being the system which, in the course of the economic evolution, must become the successor of the present capitalist system. Under the Collectivist régime the Community will regulate the organization of labour and distribute the products to the workmen in proportion to their labour, both with regard to quantity and quality. Whilst, however, the means of production are the property of the Collectivity or of the State, and not of the individuals, private possession and a free use of the individual share are not excluded. Collective ownership and control are only limited to the means of production, but not of consumption; and they do not exclude, after an equitable distribution of the produce of labour, private wealth or individual saving. Collectivism may thus be defined as "*communism in production and individualism in consumption*," and its formula is: *To each according to his labour, or services rendered.* This doctrine is thus to be distinguished from Communism, which means collective ownership and control not only of means of production, but also of consumption of goods. See *Communism.*

Although all Socialists are practically Collectivists, their views frequently vary. Some Collectivists are of opinion that all means of production should be in the possession of the Community, whilst others demand only the nationalization of those sources of wealth which are of natural origin, such as land, mines, water power, etc. See *Marx; Definitions.*

Commerce. As a rule Socialists condemn commerce, as practised under the capitalist régime. Instead of helping production, private commerce, they maintain, is hurtful to it. Many Socialist critics are inspired by Fourier's severe criticism of commerce in his *Théorie des quatre mouvements.* See *Fourier*, Part II of this Dictionary.

Communal Socialism is the doctrine which maintains that means of production ought to be owned by each Commune, and not by the State. Certain important services, however, such as railways, should be exploited by the State. Some Socialists are of opinion that no one ought to be allowed to leave his commune without the permission of the municipal authorities. Among prominent Communal Socialists were César de Paepe (q.v.) and Anton Menger (q.v.). It is interesting to note that even fervent democrats often advocate the splitting up of Europe into a number of communes, so as to allow all inhabitants to have a direct share in the government and to realize the ideal of equality, both politically and economically. See next article.

Communalism is a theory of government, and not an economic doctrine. Communalism demands complete autonomy for communities and towns, the abolition of the central national government and the establishment of a federative authority. Communalism existed under the Roman Empire, and especially during the Middle Ages, when numerous confederacies of towns and provinces were formed. The idea of abolishing central government and of establishing a confederation of communes, the latter being the political and social centres, gradually gained ground in France after the Revolution of 1789, and an effort of realizing this idea was made in 1871 during the Commune.

Communalist. This term is either synonymous with "communard," and applied to all those who had taken part in the insurrection of March 1871, in Paris, for the purpose of establishing the Commune, or to those Socialists who base their system of economic organization upon the Commune.

Communism is the Socialist doctrine which aims at a social system in which not only productive property but also goods of consumption, such as food, furniture, and dwellings, will be held in common and owned by the community or the group. Thus not only work and remuneration but also personal requirements will be owned and

controlled by the community. Communism demands the application of the principle of absolute and perfect equality in the distribution of wealth, social rights, and obligation. Although Communism is often understood to comprise also Socialism, it is, in its strict sense, to be distinguished from Socialism. Communism aims not only at the socialization of the means of production but also of the goods of consumption, and it further wishes to introduce a larger degree of equality than Socialism. Strict Communism teaches not *to each according to his work*, but *to each according to his needs*. It demands life in common; not only common ownership by communities of the means of production, but also common enjoyment of the goods of consumption. It would be wrong to use the term Communism as applied to common ownership of means of production only, i.e. as synonymous with Socialism, although Marx and Engels employed the term Communist when they drew up the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (q.v.). This, however, was due to the fact that the term Socialism was as yet scarcely known.

Communism as a social system is not a new idea, as it has existed since time immemorial. The earliest known form of property was evidently communistic. Communism, or life in common, was practised by the Essenes and the Therapeutæ, and by the early Christian Church.

Among the philosophers of ancient Hellas, Aristotle and Plato were in favour of Communism. After the Reformation, Communistic communities were established in Germany, and several experiments have been made in the United States during the 18th and 19th centuries. Communism was advocated in France by Mably, Morelly, Cabet, Babeuf, and Saint-Simon, and taught in England by Robert Owen (q.v.). Cf. Woolsey, *Communism and Socialism*; Poehlmann, *Geschichte des antiken Sozialismus und Kommunismus*.

Communist League, or **Alliance des Communistes.** The origin of this organization is to be traced to the secret societies of German artisans and revolutionaries organized in Paris under the reign of Louis Phillippe. In 1834 the

Ligue des bannis, or the *League of the Exiles*, was founded, and some time afterwards it became the *Ligne des Justes*. Reorganized by Weitling (q.v.) the League received a new impetus from the activity of Marx and Engels, who became the leaders of the organization in 1848. In his work *Herr Vogt*, Marx gives the history of the League. The organization now declared its aim as being that of overthrowing the bourgeois government, and of establishing the rule of the proletariat. It postulated the abolition of the present existing social system which is based upon class distinction, and the establishment of a new society, without any distinction of class and without private property. In 1848 the Alliance des Communistes issued the famous Communist Manifesto (q.v.) drawn up by Marx and Engels, and which, translated into several languages, was spread all over Europe. Cf. E. de Laveleye, *The Socialism of To-day*; Th. Kirkup, *History of Socialism*.

Communistic Experiments. Communistic communities have been founded mostly by religious sects in North America. Such communities are (1) The Harmonists Community, founded by George Rapp in 1805, in Pennsylvania; (2) The Zoar Community, founded in 1817 by Joseph Bäumler; (3) The Amana Community (q.v.); (4) The Bethel and Aurora Communities, founded by Keil (q.v.); (5) The Shaker Communities, founded by Ann Lee in 1787; (6) The Perfectionists (q.v.), founded by John Noyes; (7) The Hopedale Community, founded in 1841 by the clergyman Adin Ballou, with a view to converting the whole of Christendom to Socialist views. It was dissolved in 1857. Among Communistic experiments must further be reckoned the experiments and suggestions of Robert Owen (q.v.), of Fourier's phalanges and Cabet's Icaria (q.v.).

Competition is the endeavour of an individual or of a collectivity to obtain a position of supremacy and thus gain the utmost possible profit. Individual competition is the supreme law and the *sine qua non* of trade in all capitalist societies. Socialism condemns individual competition as the root of poverty and misery which are the

lot of the proletariat. As there is no equality of opportunity under a capitalist régime, competition, Socialists maintain, ultimately results in the suppression of the very freedom to compete. Louis Blanc once pointed out that competition meant simply "starvation for the wage-earners." If the working-men, Socialists further assert, have not exterminated each other in consequence of unlimited competition, it is due only to the influence of trade unionism and of factory legislation. Socialism postulates restriction and State interference, and the substitution of co-operation and socialization for competition. In the Socialist State, they maintain, men will be expected to compete only for the honour of serving the community in the best possible way.

Socialists further assert that competition not only results in lowering the workman's pay, reducing wages to their lowest level, but it also lowers the qualities of the articles sold without assuring cheapness. Socialists do not admit that competition is an incentive to productive activity and leads to improvement. They refuse to accept the theory of non-Socialists that individual interest is an important factor and a "mainspring in the economic process."

Industrial competition results in the exploitation and oppression of the worker, in pauperism, on the one hand, and excessive wealth on the other. Competition, Socialists maintain, is a direct cause of misery, poverty, moral degeneration and crime. It is not sufficient for the State to restrain it within moral limits, but it should be entirely suppressed. Cf. Sidney Webb, *Industrial Democracy*.

Composite is one of the passions described by Fourier (q.v.). By this term the author designates that blind enthusiasm which excludes reason, being stimulated solely by the senses and the soul.

Congresses. Socialist Congresses have been held since 1866, after the foundation of the International (q.v.). The first Socialist Congress assembled at Geneva in September 1866. At this Congress French delegates suggested the exclusion of the intellectual Proletariat, but the proposal

was rejected. The intellectual Proletariat, the opponents of the proposal maintained, are suffering from the capitalists, equally with the manual Proletariat. The second Socialist Congress was held at Lausanne in 1867, when it was decided that means of communication and transport should become the property of the State. The third Socialist Congress was held at Brussels in September 1868. Here a decision was arrived at that mines and forests and also land should be nationalized, i.e. become common property of society. Labour should receive the entire product, and the appropriation of any profit by capital in any shape or form be strenuously opposed. A fourth Socialist Congress was held at Basel in 1869, when the abolition of the right of inheritance was proposed but not carried. Another important Congress, the last of the first International, was held at The Hague in 1872. The new International (see *International*) was constituted in 1889, at the Congress of Paris. It subsequently held International Congresses at Brussels, in 1891 ; at Zurich, in 1893 ; at London, in 1896 ; at Paris, in 1900 ; at Amsterdam, in 1904 ; at Stuttgart, in 1907 ; at Copenhagen, in 1910. The Congress of 1914, which ought to have been held in Vienna, did not take place, on account of the European War. An International Socialist Conference was then held at Berne, in February 1919. In August 1919 an International Conference was held at Lucerne, convened by the Committee for the Reconstruction of the International. An International Labour and Socialist Congress was convened at Geneva in February 1920. The Moscow International Conference for the purpose of organizing the Third International was held at Moscow in March 1919. Cf. Jean Longuet, *Le Mouvement Socialiste International.*

Consumption is utilization of wealth resulting in its destruction. Wealth created by man is circulated and distributed, but in utilizing it men destroy it either immediately (as food) or slowly (as clothes, etc.). Wealth created for the purpose of immediately supplying the needs of humanity is unproductive, whilst wealth which serves

to produce other wealth is called productive. Collectivists aim at the socialization of the means of production, but Communists demand the socialization also of the objects of consumption. Cf. Schaeffle, *The Quintessence of Socialism.*

Contradiction Economiques, Système de, a work by Proudhon (q.v.), in which the author starts from the idea that all economic phenomena present a contradiction (antinomy). Thus, value has two aspects, value in use, and value in exchange, and division of labour tends to increase wealth on the one hand and misery on the other. Proudhon arrives at the conclusion that social misery is not due to natural causes, but to the imperfection and iniquity of social institutions. His remedy is *Mutualism* (q.v.). See *Proudhon.*

Contrat Social is the title of a famous work by J. J. Rousseau which has been rightly called the Gospel of the Revolution. It is a work which has inspired social reformers, but it cannot be considered as one advocating Socialism.

Co-operation is a term applied to any union of persons for the purpose of either production, consumption or distribution, on principles of equality and of common benefit. Many social reformers hold that co-operation is the best way to put an end to social evils resulting from the capitalist and individualist régime. By multiplying and federating co-operative societies, they hope to succeed in forming a veritable co-operation of working-men and producers, whilst others advocate the co-operation of consumers.

Although some Socialists have encouraged the creation of co-operative societies, Socialism, in general, is opposed to co-operation, which is simply the creation of new productive organizations in the place of the old ones. What Socialism aims at is the access to political power of the proletariat, and the taking over by the collectivity of all means of production. Never, Socialists maintain, will the working-classes be able to extend the co-operative movement to all means of production, such as transport,

for instance. From a Socialist point of view co-operation is at most only a palliative, as it is frequently employed also by non-Socialists. "Co-operation," wrote Lafargue, "is neither salvation nor the liberating angel who will redeem the working-class from its misery." It is at the best a two-edged sword.

Productive co-operation has been advocated by Christian Socialists, and was inaugurated by the Co-operative Movement. Co-operative communities verging on Communism were advocated in France by Fourier and Saint-Simon, and in Belgium by Anseele. In Germany the movement was started by Schulze-Delitzsch in 1848, and the General Association of German Co-operative Societies was founded in 1864. The movement was severely criticized and opposed by Lassalle. He agitated for the establishment of co-operative societies of production, and thus hoped to abolish the war existing between capital and labour, uniting them in the same hands. The workmen would thus become the associate capitalists and receive a full share of the profits. Cf. G. J. Holyoake, *History of Co-operation*; Beatrice Potter, *Co-operative Movement in Great Britain*; B. Jones, *Co-operative Production.*

Corporatism is synonymous with Syndicalism, the aim of which is the amelioration of the lot of the working-man and not the renovation of society.

Crisis, Commercial. Marx maintained that commercial crises, due to capitalist overproduction, occur every ten or eleven years. Such crises were unknown in antiquity and before the Industrial Revolution (q.v.). Markets were never overstocked, and demand by far superseded supply. It is the reverse under a competitive individual régime, when production is gradually increasing.

Critique Sociale is the title of a work by August Blanqui, published in two volumes by E. Granger, after the author's death. It is interesting to notice that in this work Blanqui had already summarized several criticisms of existing society elaborated afterwards by Marx in his *Capital.* See S. Richard, *Le Socialisme et la Science Sociale.*

Definitions (of Socialism). It is commonly maintained

that the word *Socialism* was first used by Pierre Leroux and Reybaud. Diehl (*Ueber Sozialismus, Kommunismus und Anarchismus*, Jena, 1920, p. 4) writes that the term *Socialism* was first employed by Joncières, a follower of Saint-Simon, who made use of the word in the *Globe* in 1832. The expression was then employed by Leroux and Reybaud in their *Encyclopédie Nouvelle*. Leroux, however, maintained that he had coined the word in contradistinction to *individualism*, and wished to designate by it a political organization where the individual would be sacrificed in the interests of society. Other writers maintain that the term *Socialism* was first made use of in England and thence travelled to France. It was employed in the publications of the disciples of Robert Owen, when the association of all classes of all nations was founded. (Cf. d'Eichthal, *Socialisme*, 1901, p. 1.) The term was thus used during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and William Thompson, in "An Inquiry," opposed it to the term *Capitalism*, which he and other disciples of Robert Owen had coined as well as the term *Surplus Value*. Leroux used the word *Socialisme* for the first time in 1832. See Kirkup, *History of Socialism*, p. 1, and A. Hamon in *L'Humanité Nouvelle*, 1897, p. 273.

There is thus some confusion with regard to the origin of the terms Socialism and Socialist. In reality the term *Socialist* was first employed in England by the disciples of Robert Owen and made use of in the *Poor Man's Guardian*, August 24, 1833. It was taken up by Leroux in France, who used it in 1834, and after him by Reybaud in his articles, *Les Socialistes Modernes* (in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1836–38), which appeared later in book form under the title of *Études sur les Réformateurs ou Socialistes Modernes* (1840). The term *Socialisme*, on the other hand, originated first in France, where it was made use of in the *Globe* of February 13, 1832, by Joncières.

In 1834 it was employed by Leroux, and in 1835 by Lamartine. The term *Socialisme* then travelled to England, where we meet it in the *New Moral World* of September 2, 1837. It is, however, as difficult to assert that

the English Socialists borrowed the term *Socialisme* from France as to maintain that the French took over the term *Socialist* from England.

(See, on the origin of the term, the interesting article by C. Grünberg in *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, 1906, pp. 495–508.)

With regard to the definitions of the term *Socialism*, they are very numerous. I am giving a few which I have collected from various works by Socialist and non-Socialist authors.

Socialism is any system which requires that the land and the instruments of production should be the property, not of individuals, but of communities or associations, or of the Government.—J. S. Mill, *Political Economy*.

Substitution of conscious development of humanity for the unconscious development.—K. Marx.

Mental reflection of the conflict existing in the reality between the productive forces and the modes of production.—F. Engels.

Synthetic realization of all the progressive forces of militant humanity.—B. Malon, *Histoire du Socialisme*.

The passage of production, consumption, and particularly of labour from a diffuse into an organic state.—A. Veber.

Socialism is primarily, at any rate, a question of the stomach. The Socialistic Movement, as is admitted on all sides, is primarily directed towards a fundamental transformation of the existing industrial system. The real aim of the International Movement is to replace the system of private capital by a system of collective capital; that is, by a method of production which would introduce a social or collective organization of national labour, on the basis of the means of production being owned by all the members of the collectivity.

The Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the transformation of private and competing capitals into a united collective capital.—A. Schaeffle, *The Quintessence of Socialism*.

Any doctrine pretending that the State has a right to alter the inequality of wealth existing among men, and to introduce an equilibrium by taking away from those who have too much and giving it to those who have too

little. This redistribution is to take place in a permanent manner and not to be resorted to in particular cases.—P. JANET, *Le Socialisme.*

The economic philosophy of the suffering classes.—VON SCHEEL.

The realization of a new society based upon a practical equality of conditions for all, and the general association for the purpose of satisfying the requirements of all these equals.—WILLIAM MORRIS.

The common *entente* with a view to social welfare.—G. BELOT.

The substitution of common, public and collective for private property.—TH. WOOLSEY.

The condemnation of society as it is now constituted, and the necessity to establish on its ruins a system more in conformity with human instincts and the destiny of man in this world.—L. REYBAUD.

The organization of society in such a manner that every individual, man or woman, would at birth find equal means for the development of their respective faculties and their utilization by labour. The organization of society in such a manner that the exploitation by one man of the labour of his fellow-men would be impossible, and where everyone will be allowed to enjoy the social wealth only to the extent of his direct contribution to the production of that wealth.—BAKUNIN.

A state of superior civilization where all men, by means of easy work, will have a right to all the advantages of life. All for one, and one for all, such is the motto of Socialism.—L. BERTRAND.

The transformation of society in the sense of justice, equality and a better and more equitable distribution of social wealth.—JEAN GRAVE.

The transference of the means of production and instruments of labour from private individuals to the collectivity.—J. GUESDE.

Socialism is the endeavour to abolish the cause of all iniquities, exploitations and misery, namely, private property.—S. MERLINO.

The philosophy of Socialism is a general philosophy and comprises several quite distinct subordinated doctrines. As to the economic organization, Socialists are in favour of the communist form or co-operative method of production.—FISHER.

A social system in which the means of production are socialized and administered by the collectivity on the basis of equality among the sexes.—TSHERKESSOFF.

Socialization of land and of industrial means of production. The ideal of Socialism is collectivism or nationalization of land, the introduction of collective property.—YVES GUYOT.

The socialization of all means of production, and the consumption by the workers, after acquitting themselves of social duties, in accordance with what they have produced.—HENRI BRISSAC.

The fundamental basis of Socialism is the common ownership of land and of the instruments of production. —T. MILANO.

A system of society or a social doctrine postulating the socialization of the means of production. A Socialist is either one who is a partisan of Socialism or who has elaborated a system of Socialism.—A. HAMON (in *L'Humanité Nouvelle*, 1897, where numerous other definitions are quoted).

All tendencies postulating a subordination of individual will to that of the community.—A. HELD, *Sozialismus.*

The theory which proposes that land and capital, which are the requisites of labour and the sources of all wealth and culture, should be placed under social ownership and control.—TH. KIRKUP, *History of Socialism.*

Progressive substitution of social property for capitalist property.—A. MILLERAND.

Socialism is the creed of those who, recognizing that the community exists for the improvement of the individual and for the maintenance of liberty, and that the control of the economic circumstances of life means the control of life itself, seek to build up a social organization which will include in its activities the management of those

economic instruments, such as land and industrial capital that cannot be left safely in the hands of individuals. It is an application of mutual aid to politics and economics.—J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, *The Socialist Movement.*

Socialism is an endeavour to substitute for the anarchical struggle or fight for existence an organized co-operation for existence.—HYNDMAN.

Socialism denies individual private property and affirms that society organized as the State should own all wealth, direct all labour, and compel the equal distribution of all produce.—BRADLAUGH.

No definition of Socialism at once true and precise has ever been given, or ever will be given. For Socialism is essentially indefinite, indeterminate. It is a tendency and a movement towards an extreme. It may be very great or very small, it may manifest itself in the most diverse social and historical connections : it may assume, and has assumed, a multitude of forms. It is the opposite of individualism, which is similarly variable and indeterminate in its nature. Socialism is the exaggeration of the rights and claims of society, just as individualism is the exaggeration of the rights and claims of individuals.—R. FLINT, *Socialism.*

Any theory of social organization which sacrifices the legitimate liberties of individuals to the will or interests of the community.—FLINT, *ibid.*

Socialism is a theory of social evolution, based on a new principle of economic organization, according to which industry should be carried on by co-operative workers jointly controlling the means of production.—KIRKUP, *Inquiry.*

The basis of Socialism is economic, involving a fundamental change in the relation of labour to land and capital, a change which will largely affect production and will entirely revolutionize the existing system of distribution.—KIRKUP, *History of Socialism.*

Every aspiration towards the amelioration of society.—PROUDHON.

Every systematic effort, under whatever name, to improve

society according to some theory more or less explicitly defined.—M. KAUFMANN.

Socialism is a tendency to modify the present life, under the impulse of an idea of economic amelioration, and by the discussion and intervention of the labouring classes.—LITTRÉ, *Paroles de Philosophie Positive.*

Science applied with clear consciousness and full knowledge to every sphere of human activity.—BEBEL, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus.*

A doctrine which demands the suppression of the proletariat and the complete control of wealth and power by the collectivity.—T. DE WYZEWA, *Le Mouvement Socialiste.*

Negatively Socialism is the theory which condemns private property of either land or capital, positively it postulates a personal income derived from labour only and the abolition of private possession of capital.—K. DIEHL, *Ueber Sozialismus, Kommunismus u. Anarchismus.*

Every Socialistic doctrine aims at introducing greater equality into social conditions : it also tries to realize these reforms by the action of the Law or the State. Socialism is an equalizer and a leveller, and it does not admit that mere liberty can enter in the reign of justice. The Socialist is a pessimist, he places in full relief the bad side of the social State. He aspires to an ideal where well-being will be allotted in proportion to desert and to services rendered.—E. DE LAVELEYE, *The Socialism of To-day.*

In spite, however, of the variety of definitions, all Socialists admit that Socialism is revolutionary and is to be distinguished from social reform. Social reformers who do not attack the institution of private property as a means of production and only postulate certain limitations in the interests of the collectivity are not Socialists. Thus Socialists, whatever they may say, do not consider Christian Socialism as scientific Socialism. "The alpha and omega of Socialism," to quote Schaeffle, "is the abolition of private and individual property as a means

of production, and the transformation of private into collective capital." Real Socialism strives after the socialization of both land and industrial capital. See J. Garnier, *Les diverses définitions du Socialisme*, in *Journal des Economistes* (1878), vol. iii, pp. 5–10; Grünberg, *Der Ursprung des Wortes Sozialismus und Sozialist* (*Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, 1906); R. Flint, *Socialism* (1894), pp. 23–27.

Degeneration is the deviation of man from the normal type, a deterioration of his character, of his physical and mental abilities, making him unfit to adapt himself to life. From the Socialist point of view degeneration is the result of social environment and of the capitalist competitive system. Under a Socialist and Communist régime, when man will meet with no obstacles for his development, a better race will evolve. Socialists deny the contention that Socialism, by its tendency to make the individual sacrifice his interests to those of the collectivity, will suppress individuality. Cf. M. Nordau, *Degeneration*; L. Ward, *Psychic Factors of Civilization.*

Democracy. The term is defined in Professor Murray's New English Dictionary as "that form of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people as a whole, and is exercised either directly by them or by officers elected by them." The term Democracy, however, does not only denote a form of government, it is also applied to a social State in which all have equal rights. Democracy is to be distinguished from Socialism, inasmuch as, according to some Socialists, the former is a means to an end, whilst the latter is the end in itself, the aim of the movement. Many Socialists, however, maintain that both Socialism and Democracy are means to an end, namely, the "ultimate abolition of all exploitation and oppression, whether directed against a class, a party, or a race." Mr. Ramsay MacDonald writes that "from the Socialist standpoint Democracy is both an end in itself and a means to other ends, for, whilst the Socialist regards the Democratic State as the proof and pledge of completed citizenship, he regards political power as the

means of social reconstruction and betterment." Anyhow, whilst Democracy is possible without Socialism, Socialism is impossible, according to the majority of Socialists, without Democracy. "For us," writes Kautsky (*Die Diktatur des Proletariats*, p. 5), "Socialism without Democracy is unthinkable. We understand under modern Socialism not only racial organization of production but also the democratic organization of society." Socialism, therefore, is indissolubly bound up with Democracy. No Socialism without Democracy. An American author expresses himself to a similar effect.

"Collectivism without Democracy," writes W. T. Mills (*The Struggle for Existence*), "is not Socialism. Democracy without Collectivism is not Socialism. Both Collectivism and Democracy are fundamental factors in the construction of the proposals of the Socialists. The three great principles which underlie the Socialist proposals are Collectivism, Democracy (or Democratic Management) and Equality (or equal opportunity in the collectively used means of producing the means of life)."

The majority of Socialists are thus convinced that it is only in a democratic State that the transformation of the existing social system can be achieved. One of the items of the scientific Socialist programme is, therefore, political democracy and even republicanism. But as the distinctive principle of Democracy is equality, the equality of all men, equality of their rights and duties, it follows that class war and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, even as a transitionary phase, are diametrically opposed to Democracy. To exclude, even for a time, which may be protracted indefinitely, one class of the nation from political activity and oppress it, is tantamount to tyranny and revenge. It contradicts all the promises of Socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat as the first step towards the realization of Socialism is opposed to the principles of pure Democracy and must lead to the dictatorship of an oligarchy ending in the dictatorship of one man, culminating in Cæsarism. History abounds in examples corroborating this statement, and Soviet Russia furnishes

another proof. See *Dictatorship of the Proletariat.* Cf. Lecky, *Democracy and Liberty*; Bryce, *Modern Democracies*; Maine, *Popular Government*; Dunning, *History of Political Theories.*

Democratic Federation. One of the first Socialist organizations founded in Great Britain by Hyndman, a disciple of Marx. The Democratic Federation proclaimed the necessity of social revolution and postulated class struggle as a means of action. It published pamphlets and a weekly paper *Justice,* organized meetings and lectures, and presented candidates for parliamentary and municipal elections. In 1883 the society was reorganized under the new name of Social Democratic Federation. See *Great Britain.*

Denmark. Socialism in Denmark may be traced to the middle of the last century, when Frederick Dreyer made an attempt to create a Socialist Labour Movement. After 1871 the doctrines of the International were actively propagated in Denmark, and in 1878 the Social Democratic Union was founded; great impetus was given to the Socialist Movement in Denmark by the Congress of the German Socialist Labour Party held at Copenhagen in 1883. The strongest political party in Denmark is the Social Democratic Party, and it has over 800 organizations all over the country.

Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher, a publication issued by Arnold Ruge and Marx in Paris, and of which only two numbers appeared in 1844. They contain, among others, Marx's essays, *Zur Juderfrage,* and *Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie.*

Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat we understand the absolute control of political power by the Proletariat, with the complete exclusion of the Democratic Bourgeoisie and other classes of society. The expression was made use of by Marx in a letter written in May 1875 (published in *Neue Zeit,* ix, 1, p. 502) and criticizing the Gotha Programme). Between the Capitalist and the Communist societies lies the period of transition of the former into the latter.

To this period corresponds also a political period of transition, during which the State can be nothing else than a dictatorship of the proletariat. Taken literally, writes Kautsky, " the expression Dictatorship of the Proletariat means the abolition of Democracy."

Many Socialists, therefore, maintain that during the period of transition, i.e. when the Proletariat will have conquered political power, but not yet introduced Socialism economically, Democracy will not only be unnecessary, but detrimental to the development of Socialism and its ultimate triumph. During this period of transition the Proletariat, that is its accredited leaders, will conserve the political power. They will exercise a dictatorship during the time required for the reconstruction of society and the transference of private wealth to the collectivity. Marx, it must be admitted, stated quite clearly that this dictatorship will exist only during the period of transition and come to an end when the proletariat will have accomplished its mission. The Proletariat will utilize this period for the purpose of firmly establishing Socialism and for abolishing all class distinctions.

Some Socialists, however, except the Bolsheviki, maintain that the phrase of Dictatorship of the Proletariat has been exaggerated, inasmuch as Socialism is anxious to abolish all class distinction. " While Social Democracy," wrote Liebknecht (*Socialism, What it is and what it seeks to accomplish*), " contends against the Class State through the removal of the present form of production, it will also destroy the class struggle itself. Once the means of production has become the possession of the community, the proletariat will no longer be a class—just as little as the bourgeoisie. All classes will cease, and there will remain only one society, a society of equals—a true human society, mankind and humanity." " Socialists," he further asserts, " will never substitute one class rule for another. Only malice could put such a wrong conception on our meaning, for in order to be able to exercise rule, one must have possession of the means of production. Private property in the means of production is the preliminary

condition for rule, and Socialism will remove personal property in the means of production. The aim of Socialism is to do away with rule and exploitation in every form, men becoming free and equal, not masters and servants, but comrades, brothers and sisters." Karl Kautsky (*Die Diktatur des Proletariats*, 1919, a pamphlet replied to by Lenin, who accused the author of being a Renegade) maintains that Marx never meant by Dictatorship of the Proletariat a form of government, but a social State. " The very expression Dictatorship of the Proletariat, that is dictatorship not of one or several individuals, but of a class, already excludes the idea that Marx had meant it in a literal sense " (Kautsky, *ibid.*, p. 20). In 1871 Marx had already written that the Commune of Paris was what he meant by dictatorship of the proletariat. The Commune, however, was certainly not an abolition of the democracy, but, on the contrary, was based upon universal suffrage. The application, therefore, of dictatorship of the proletariat to a form of government, instead of to a social State, by depriving the other classes of all political rights is tantamount to an abolition of all democratic principles. And as an entire class, especially when it is not in a majority, cannot govern, dictatorship of the proletariat as a form of government must logically lead to the dictatorship of a few individuals or an oligarchy. Cf. K. Kautsky, *Die Diktatur des Proletariats* (1918).

Diggers Movement, an English Communist Movement and agrarian revolt which broke out in 1649, led by William Everard and Gerrard Winstanley. They took to digging and manuring land in the parish of Walton in Surrey, for the purpose of encouraging people to cultivate common lands and thus found communities where civil property would disappear and " the earth become a common treasury to all." The movement was not successful, as not only the Government but also the peasants were against it. Cf. Beer, *History of British Socialism* (Bell & Sons, 1920).

Direct Action is a term applied to the personal efforts made by the workers fighting for themselves without the

help of parliamentary representatives and without the help of the bourgeoisie with a view to their emancipation. Whilst indirect action is the principle of Democracy and of parliamentary Socialism, *direct action* is the principle of Syndicalism. Direct action is manifested by general strikes, illegal and violent actions (see *Sabotage*) and by moral pressure exercised by the working-men upon their employers.

Distribution of Wealth. Under distribution of wealth political economists understand the division of products amongst classes or individuals constituting human society. Besides natural objects, labour and capital contribute to the production of goods, and the question arises what shares labour and capital should respectively receive of these products. The question is not only what they could get and are getting, but what they *ought* to get.

Socialists clearly declare that they do not postulate a redistribution of wealth. It is wrong to accuse them of such an aim. What they aim at is the possession in common of social wealth by the collectivity. Everything should belong to the collectivity and thus everybody would possess everything, whilst no one would possess anything (Schaeffle).

At present, i.e. under the Capitalist régime, when the means of production are under the sole ownership of capitalists, labour is deprived of its rightful share of production. Socialists consider Trade Unionism, Productive Co-operation and Profit-Sharing, tending to make capitalists yield a larger share of the products to the labourers, as mere palliatives. They maintain that a fair distribution of wealth will only be effected under a collective social system, i.e. when all the means of production will be owned by the community and not by individuals. Cf. J. A. Hobson, *The Evolution of Capitalism.*

Division of Labour is an industrial method consisting of subdividing, as far as possible, the work done by the individual so as to specialize production. Division of labour is applied not only to individuals and classes, but

also to nations and countries. The application of the division of labour carried to its extreme constitutes one of the many contradictions which Socialists endeavour to find in the present (capitalist) economic and social system. On the one hand, Socialists agree with conservative economists that division of labour results in a growing perfection and in an increase of production, but they point out, on the other hand, that it leads to a continual increase of the power of the capitalist. Division of labour furthermore assimilates the working-man to an instrument, a mechanism or a machine; it lowers his intellectual and moral level and, in consequence of overproduction, ultimately ends in a decrease of wages. The evil, however, Socialists maintain, is not the direct and necessary result of the principle of the division of labour, but of the manner in which it is being made use of by a capitalist society. The contradiction pointed out above is only apparent, for the inconveniences are due to the fact that the combined financial and industrial powers have utilized the principle of the division of labour not with a view to furthering progress, but in order still more to exploit the working-man and to lower his moral and intellectual standard.

Once capital becomes collective and is owned by the Community, all the disadvantages which follow in the wake of division of labour will disappear, whilst all the advantages will remain. The only remedy, therefore, according to Socialism, is to be found in an organization of labour where capital will exist only as a collective economic force. Cf. J. A. Hobson, *The Evolution of Capitalism.*

Doctrines, Socialist. Under Socialist doctrines we understand all the social and economic doctrines frequently opposed to each other which constitute the tenets of Socialism. Socialism (see *Definitions*) does not in reality mean only one homogeneous doctrine, but a number of systems, social and economic doctrines, all of which aim at the reconstruction of society and its re-establishment upon a basis of strict justice and equity.

This equity, all Socialists agree, should consist in the

application of a law or laws compelling the collectivity to give to the individual all that is due to him, on condition that the individual renders to the collectivity the services he owes to it.

The reciprocity of duties which should unite the individual and the collectivity is admitted by all Socialists, who see in it the means to the desired end, namely, the happiness of all.

The Socialist doctrines, however, vary according to the predominance given to the individual or the collectivity. Thus we have Anarchism, Bolshevism, Collectivism, Communism, Guild Socialism, and Syndicalism. Every Socialist doctrine consists of (*a*) a philosophy, (*b*) a negative, destructive, or critical programme, (*c*) a positive or constructive programme, (*d*) a plan concerning ways and means by which the programme is to be realized, and (*e*) a social morality.

The philosophy of any Socialist doctrine discusses the relations which must exist between the individuals and the collectivity; as a criticism, Socialism analyses, criticizes and endeavours to abolish the existing social and economic régime, based on social injustice, exploitation and oppression of labour by capital. In its constructive part Socialism builds a new state of society where social inequalities would disappear, whilst it also enumerates the ways and means by which the transformation of society is to be effected. This change or transformation is to take place either slowly and gradually or brutally, either by way of evolution or revolution.

Economy, or **Thrift.** The supporters of the existing social system, under which all means of production are in the ownership of capitalists, maintain that economy or thrift is an important factor in the accumulation of wealth, but Socialists are convinced that economy or thrift could never result in the accumulation of capital. Anyhow, the labourer could never succeed in making himself independent of the capitalist, as long as the latter is the sole owner of the means of production. Many Socialists even advise the labourers to give up the idea of economy, as it

will never bring them any advantage. Belfort Bax (*The Religion of Socialism*, p. 94) writes: "To the Socialist, labour is an evil to be minimized to the utmost. The man who works at his trade or avocation more than necessity compels him, or who accumulates more than he can enjoy, is not a hero but a fool, from the Socialist's standpoint. It is this necessary work which it is the aim of Socialism to reduce to the minimum. Again, 'thrift,' the hoarding up of the products of labour, it is obvious must be without rhyme or reason, except on a capitalist basis. For the only two purposes which commodities serve are consumption and exchange. Now, except under peculiar circumstances (Arctic expeditions and the like), it is certain they would not be 'saved' to any considerable extent merely for the sake of future consumption. Hence the object of 'thrift' or hoarding must lie in exchange. And it is, indeed, the increment obtainable by commodities or realized labour-power when represented by exchange-value or money that furnishes the only *raison d'être* of 'thrift.' The aim of the Socialist, therefore, which is the enjoyment of the products of labour as opposed to that of the *bourgeois*, which is their mere accumulation with a view to profit in exchange, is radically at variance with 'thrift.'"

Education. Great attention is paid to the problem of education in all the works of Socialists. The older Communists and all social reformers laid stress only upon the *social* education of man, and the necessity of accustoming the child to the duty of sacrificing selfish individual interests to the welfare of the community. Modern Socialists attach more importance to the *technical* education of the child and the inculcation of a communist ideal.

Eight-Hours Day. At the Congress of Geneva in 1866, the International adopted the eight-hours day of Labour. It is not, however, a Socialist invention. Socialists have inscribed the eight-hours day on their programme, and as one of the measures to be applied immediately, even under the capitalist régime, as they hope thus to increase wages and diminish unemployment. On November 25,

1833, Robert Owen had already founded the National Regeneration Society with a view to introducing an eight-hours day on March 1, 1834. Ever since that time the request has formed part of all working-men's organizations, national and international. It was part of the request formulated at the Congress of Geneva (1866), and at the Paris Congress of 1889 it was decided to hold a manifestation in all countries on May 1st.

The advantages of an eight-hours day are, according to Socialists and all social reformers, very numerous. It is, in the first instance, a negation of the principle of *laissez-faire* as applied to the commodity called labour. The introduction of an eight-hours day further limits the time during which the labourer works for his employer without receiving any remuneration. When a workman, Socialists argue, has worked in a factory five or six hours he has produced value equivalent to the wages he receives. The value created during the remaining hours constitutes *surplus value* (q.v.). By reducing the number of hours, the surplus value will also be reduced.

The eight-hours day has further advantages. It reduces unemployment, raises the level of wages, and leaves the workman time for physical recreation and mental development. Some economists even hold that the reduction of the number of hours is in no way detrimental to the interests of the employers. A man, whether a manual or an intellectual workman, cannot work more than eight hours without running the risk of ruining his physical strength or exhausting his mental energy. The employer rarely benefits by the additional number of hours, as the workman will not produce more in twelve hours than he would in eight.

Socialists add that under a collective régime, where labour will be the exact equivalent of value produced and replaced by the consumption of the collectivity, the normal day will probably be reduced to six hours.[1]

Eisenach, The Congress of, was held at Eisenach in August 1869. Here the adherents of Marxian International

[1] Russia seems to contradict this statement.

Socialism organized the German Socialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei in contradistinction to the Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein, founded by Lassalle. The moving spirit was Wilhelm Liebknecht, who, at the assembly at Nurnburg (1868), in conjunction with Bebel, gained the adherence of the Labour associations to the ideas of the International as opposed to the doctrines of Lassalle and of the bourgeois democracy. In its programme the newly founded Social Democratic Labour Party, striving for the establishment of a free State governed by the people, pledged its members to support the following principles:

(1) To attack with all possible vigour and energy the present existing political and social conditions.

(2) To struggle for the abolition of all class domination and for the emancipation of the working-classes, which is not a struggle for class privileges.

(3) To abolish the present system of production, i.e. the wage system, and thus secure for every worker the full benefit of his labour through co-operative production.

(4) To strive for the establishment of a Democratic Government, as the social question, inseparable from the political, could be solved only in a Democratic State.

(5) To work for the union and solidarity of the working-classes.

Clause 6 declared that the Social Democratic Workmen's Party considered itself, as far as the laws of the country permitted it, as a branch of the International Workmen's Association.

Equality. "Equality," wrote Pierre Leroux, "is a divine law, a law preceding all other laws and from which all laws should emanate." One of the problems of Socialism is to lead humanity from the phase of inequality to that of social equality.

Erfurt, The Congress of, was held in October 1891. It was at this Congress that the followers of Marx finally triumphed over the adherents of Lassalle. Even more clearly than the programme of Gotha (q.v.) that of Erfurt summarizes the theory and aspirations of the Socialists. Cf. K. Kautsky, *Das Erfurter Programm* (1908).

Essenes, The, Jewish sect, of which, as many Socialists maintain, Jesus was a member. The Essenes preached communism of consumption, and not, as is erroneously supposed, communism of production. They practised charity and shared the product of their individual labours with each other. They occupied themselves with farming and cattle raising, but held commercial pursuits in abhorrence. Descriptions of the mode of life of the Essenes, who have been represented as one of the most important Communist societies of antiquity, are to be found in the works of Philo and Josephus. See also G. Adler, *Geschichte des Sozialismus und Kommunismus*, and A. S. Rappoport, *Labour, Social Reform and Democracy* (chap. 5).

Estate, Fourth, is a term frequently employed by Socialists and applied to the Proletariat which is struggling against the other classes of society, such as nobility, clergy and bourgeoisie. See *Fourth Estate.*

Evolution et Révolution is the title of a famous work by Elisée Reclus (1898), wherein the author endeavours to prove that evolution and revolution are not opposed to each other, but constitute successive phases of the same phenomenon. Revolution follows upon evolution just as the act follows upon the will to act.

Exchange. Political economists maintain that the increase of wealth and of surplus value is due to the exchange. This is contradicted by Socialists, who assert that exchange cannot alter the value of the commodity. The increase, or the surplus value, is due to the effort of the labourer only. See *Value and Surplus Value.*

Expropriation is a social measure claimed by Socialists, and which will consist in the confiscation or nationalization of private property. The reconstruction of society necessarily presupposes the expropriation of the capitalists and bourgeois classes who are now in possession of the means of production. Only by means of dispossession will it be possible to transform the private ownership of capital into collective property. The capitalists will have to surrender their property to the collectivity.

Dispossession of private owners will, therefore, be a *sine qua non* of the collective social system.

Some Socialists are in favour of simple confiscation of private property, a method which has been adopted and practised by the Bolsheviki (q.v.), but other Socialists, inspired by a deeper sense of justice, feel that the present possessors of property are not responsible for its origin, and suggest the payment of an indemnity, and especially expropriation (which means paying off).

Lafargue and Guesde maintained that expropriation is both necessary and just. Industrial progress had resulted in the expropriation of the small artisans for the benefit of employers and of capitalists, who have usurped the former's force of labour and means of production. Whilst, however, capitalist expropriation has accumulated ruins for the benefit of the rich and to the detriment of the poor and working-classes, expropriation, postulated by Socialism, is the reverse. It will be an expropriation of the exploiting minority for the benefit of the exploited majority. Socialist expropriation, they assert, will in reality be not an expropriation but a restitution, *an expropriation of the expropriators and usurpers.* Cf. Guesde and Lafargue, *Programme du Parti ouvrier.*

Fabian Society, The, is a society with Socialist tendencies, founded in London by Sidney Webb, G. B. Shaw, Headlam, Pease and others. In their programme the founders declared that their aim was " the transformation of society by transferring the soil and industrial capital from the hands of private owners into the possession of the collectivity." The Fabian Society is not a political organization, and its members belong to all classes of society. Their aim is to *permeate* society with Socialist tendencies, and in paving the way for social reform prepare the era of Collectivism. The Collectivism of the Fabians is, however, limited to such industrial capital " which can be conveniently managed socially." The Fabians agitate for Municipal and State Socialism, for protection of the labourers, eight-hours day, minimum wage, etc., etc. They deprecate the idea of either class war or the Dictatorship

of the Proletariat, and, like the ancient Roman Fabius (whence the name), their tactics are to proceed step by step. Although the Fabians claim to be Collectivists and maintain that their aim is the ultimate nationalization of all means of production and the control by the State of all production, they attach more importance to those reforms which it is possible to realize at once. They have, therefore, been rightly compared to the French *possibilists* (see *Possibilism*, Part I, and *Allemane*, Part II). It is wrong to designate the Fabians as Socialists of the Chair, because, in addition to professors and lawyers, journalists and members of other professions and trades belong to it. The motto of the Fabians is " To wait for the right moment patiently, like Fabius when he fought against Hannibal ; but when the right moment arrives one must strike energetically, so as not to have waited in vain. Cf. *Fabian Tracts* ; E. Pease, *History of the Fabian Society*.

Familistère de Guise is an establishment founded by Godin, a disciple of Fourier, in 1859, and which is a co-operative association of production. Godin associated the workmen in his enterprise, sharing the profits with them. Fifty per cent. was divided between capital and labour, whilst 4 per cent. was allowed for the director, 16 per cent. for the Council of Administration, and 2 per cent. for the Council of Surveillance. Twenty-five per cent. was kept as a Reserve Fund. The Familistère contains buildings and apartments for 250 families, besides libraries, billiard-rooms, reading-rooms, a theatre, etc.

Family. The institution of family is considered by all conservative philosophers as a natural, social, and political, and by some also as a divine institution. The modern family, however, is based upon the obedience paid by the wife to the husband and upon the protection accorded by the latter to the former. Socially, therefore, woman is generally considered as being inferior to man. Against this social consecration of feminine inferiority Socialism protests. Although differing in their moral criticisms, Socialists are unanimous as to their economic criticism of the institution of family. The Fourierists and

the advanced Communists reject altogether the idea of a family, but the Collectivists are in favour of the institution of a family. Anarchists advocate free union, whilst Christian Socialists consider the institution of family as necessary. The institution of family, Socialists maintain, has undergone various changes and developments in the course of centuries, and may still undergo new changes. What they postulate is the equality of rights and duties for both sexes in a society where all will be compelled to work. Cf. Belfort Bax, *The Religion of Socialism.*

Fatalism, Economic, is a term applied to the doctrine of those Socialists who maintain that the economic evolution of society will *automatically* lead to transformation and ultimately end in Collectivism.

Federalism is a term applied to the social system suggested by Proudhon (q.v.) and now adopted by Revolutionary Syndicalists. The latter repudiate the Socialism of Marx, which would turn the working-men into a submissive and disciplined army.

Federation of Labour, American. The American Federation of Labour, organized in 1881, is in sympathy with many Socialist demands, but it is not a Socialist organization, and does not favour Socialist politics. In 1893 it refused to include in its programme the demand for collective ownership of the means of production.

Feodality, Capitalist (Féodalité Capitaliste), is an expression familiar to Proudhon and to the French Socialists before 1848. It is being generally used by Socialists since the promulgation of Marx's historical theory. A corollary is the expression "féodalité financière," or financial feudalism.

Four Eights is a term applied to the claims of certain working-men whose programme consists of the following formula :

> Eight hours to work, eight hours to play,
> Eight hours to sleep, eight shillings a day.

Fourth Estate is a term applied in Socialist writings to the labouring classes, or the Proletariat (q.v). The

expression is formed by analogy to the *Third Estate* (*Tiers État*) which had benefited by the Revolution in France, gaining all the privileges which had previously been enjoyed by clergy and nobility. Since the Revolution of 1789 this Third Estate has risen to political supremacy, enjoying wealth and comfort at the expense of another class which has grown up under its régime, namely, the wage-earners, proletarians, or Fourth Estate.

"The Fourth Estate, or the working-men," wrote Lassalle in his *Arbeiter-programm*, "would eventually become the ruling power in the community, just as the Third Estate or the Bourgeoisie has succeeded to the territorial aristocracy." Cf. Rudolph Meyer, *Der Emancipationskampf des Vierten Standes* (2 vols.).

France, Socialism in. Socialism in France may be said to date back to the French Revolution of 1789, although Socialist and Communist ideas existed already before that date in France. We refer the reader to the articles—*Blanc*, *Blanqui*, *Fourier*, *Guesde*, *Jaurès*, *Proudhon*, and *Saint-Simon* in Part II of this Dictionary. Socialism in France received a new stimulus in the period of 1840–50, when European conscience awoke almost for the first time, and eminent men became aware of an approaching social transformation. Paris became the meeting place of all apostles of liberty and leaders of Socialism who were destined to become famous. "On the same day," writes Benoit Malon, "one could meet in Paris—Mazzini and Cæsar de Paepe, Marx and Lassalle, Karl Grün and Herzen, J. Stuart Mill and Colins, Cabet, Proudhon, Pecqueur, Pierre Leroux, Louis Blanc and Blanqui." After the collapse of the Commune in 1871, Socialism suffered for a time at the hands of the Government, but it soon raised its head and became very active, thanks especially to the efforts of Jules Guesde and Lafargue. French Socialists were, however, still divided, some standing for pure Marxian Socialism, others for Reformist Socialism, whilst others again were in favour either of the theories of Louis Blanc or of very moderate Socialism. The pure Marxian Socialists were led by J. Guesde, and called Impossibilists, whilst those in favour

of social reforms were led by Brousse and called Possibilists (see *Possibilism*). In 1887 the Socialists gained a victory at the elections, and in 1893 they gained another, sending forty members to the Chamber of Deputies.

In 1905 the various Socialist groups united and formed the Parti Socialiste Unifié. Its programme was based upon Collectivist principles, namely, the abolition of the capitalist régime and the formation of a Collectivist society, and the socialization of all means of production and distribution. During the parliamentary elections of 1918, the number of Socialist deputies in the Chamber was reduced from 105 to 55, although the total vote amounted to 1,750,000. A split occurred in the Socialist ranks on December 25, 1920, at the National Congress of Tours, when the question of the Third International was discussed. The Communists, in favour of admission to the Third International and accepting its conditions, were victorious, and the Centre and Right Wings withdrew. The Left Wing then formed a new party called Section Française de l'Internationale Communiste, whilst the seceding members formed the Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière. At the elections of 1924 the Socialists and Radical Socialists gained a decided victory. See *Encyclopédie Socialiste*, ed. by Compère-Morel.

Free Love. Free Love has found champions, after Plato, in Campanella, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Shelley, William Morris, and Belfort Bax. Many Socialists, however, maintain that they do not intend to abolish the family tie or eradicate parental love. They merely wish to do away with compulsory love, and to free marriage from any control, especially the religious, which only results, so they argue, in prostitution. Cf. Letourneau, *L'Evolution du Mariage*, and Belfort Bax, *The Religion of Socialism*.

Fusionism is a term applied to the philosophical and social doctrine of Tourcil, who, in 1845, proposed to amalgamate the religious system of Saint-Simon and the humanitarian doctrine of Pierre Leroux.

Garantism (**garantisme**) is a term applied by Fourier to one of the eight social phases through which humanity,

according to the author, passes in the course of historical evolution. The eight phases are as follows: Edenism, Savagery, Patriarchate, Barbarism, Sociantism, and Harmony (which is the Socialist State). See *Fourier.*

General Strike. The term occurs for the first time in 1834, and is mentioned in the *Herald of Rights of Industry* (April 5, 1834). The Chartists never spoke of General Strikes, but of *Sacred Week* or *Sacred Month.* See Beer, *History of British Socialism*, vol. i, p. 318.

Geneva, The Congress of. The first Congress after the foundation of the Working Men's Association took place at Geneva in September 1867. It was attended by about one hundred delegates. See *Congresses.*

Germany, Socialism in. Although Socialism as a political party in Germany only dates back to 1863, when Lassalle started his agitation among the labourers, ideas of social transformation and even of revolution existed much earlier in that country. They may be traced back to the Anabaptists (q.v.) and the Peasant War. Social reforms were suggested by Fichte, who maintained that labour and distribution should be organized collectively, and that everyone should receive a fixed amount of capital, constituting his property, for a fixed amount of labour. "No one," Fichte wrote, "should enjoy superfluities whilst many lack necessities of life." Other social reformers were Ludwig Gall, who was the first to proclaim the principle of right to work. During the early forties Communistic and Socialistic ideas penetrated into Germany from France and Switzerland, and were propagated by William Weitling, a tailor imbued with Communistic doctrines, especially those of Cabet and Fourier. In 1842 Weitling published a work entitled *Garantien und Harmonien der Freiheit* (*Guarantees and Harmonies of Liberty*), wherein he preached Communism and equality. This early Socialism, known as the *Philosophical Socialism*, was severely criticized by Marx, and among the followers of this philosophical Socialism were Karl Grün and Moses Hess.

After 1848 the Labour Movement in Germany was organized by Lassalle, on the one side, whilst Karl Marx,

on the other, directed the Socialist agitation. Lassalle (q.v.) began an active campaign in favour of an organization among the workmen. His plans, however, did not imply any violent revolution, and his Socialism was distinctly State Socialism (q.v.). Socialism in Germany soon changed its ideas and tactics when Bebel and Liebknecht began to agitate in the South. Liebknecht, who on being exiled had found refuge in England, had been completely won over to Marxian principles. In 1867 Marx published his *Capital*, and the difference between the followers of Lassalle and the partisans of Marx became more marked and the fight very keen. At Eisenach, in 1869, Liebknecht, after several vain attempts at reconciliation, founded the Workmen's Social Democratic Party. Socialism in Germany made rapid strides after the Franco-German War, and in 1875 the fusion of the Lassallians and the Marxians took place. In 1877 the Socialist Party polled 493,288 votes, and sent 12 deputies to the Reichstag. A period of repression followed, Bismarck having passed severe laws against the movement.

In 1891, at the Congress of Halle, the party, which had been declared illegal by Bismarck, was reorganized and a programme, based on the Marxian principles, was adopted.

During the European War the Social Democratic Party of Germany split into three groups: The Social Democratic Party, favouring the war; The Independent Socialist Party, opposed to the war; The Spartacus group, not only opposed to the war, but in favour of Communism. In December 1919 the Independent Socialist group of Germany decided to sever connections with the Second International, and to negotiate affiliation with the Third International (Moscow).

After the Revolution of 1918 the Spartacus group became the Revolutionary Communist Party. A split occurred in the ranks of the Independent Socialist Party in October 1920, at the Convention of Halle, where the majority decided in favour of joining the Third (Moscow) International. The Social Democratic Party in Germany adheres to evolutionary Socialism, and is opposed to vio-

lence and to the idea of a dictatorship of the proletariat. The Independent Socialist Party aims at the taking over of political power by the working-classes, and the introduction of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The United Communist Party of Germany favours Revolutionary Marxism. Cf. R. Ely, *German Socialism*; Mehring, *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (1906); Diehl, *Ueber Sozialismus, Kommunismus und Anarchismus* (1920).

Gnosticism (from Gr. *gnosis*, knowledge), a term applied to the doctrines of the various Christian sects in the first century of our era, which were a fusion between pagan thought and Christianity. One of the Gnostic sects, the Epiphanians, made an attempt to practise the system of community of goods and of women as exposed in Plato's *Republic*. Some of the Gnostics preached an entire destruction of present society based upon the principles of injustice and inhumanity.

Golden Age, Legend of the. The legend of the golden age has existed among the nations of antiquity, in the Middle Ages, and in modern times. A Golden Age, when men were free and not divided by selfish interests, when property was held in common and class distinctions were unknown, had existed, according to the belief of many people, in primitive society. Many poets and authors, from Hesiod to modern times, evoke this golden age of primitive happiness and constantly sigh for it. The majority of poets and sociologists dream of the golden age of a dim and distant past, but Socialists, who also cling to the legend of a golden age, project it into the future. The golden age awaits humanity when it will have abolished the Capitalist system, private property and the wage system, and introduced Collectivism. Cf. Poehlmann, *Geschichte des Sozialismus und Kommunismus*; A. S. Rappoport, *Labour, Social Reform, and Democracy*, vol. i, chap. 7.

Goods are the products of labour, commodities offered for sale in the market. All products of labour are not goods in a commercial sense. Those consumed by the producer are goods of consumption.

Gotha, Congress and Programme of. The Congress of Gotha was held in 1875. One of its results was the union of 9,000 adherents of Marx with 15,000 followers of Lassalle. The programme of Gotha is so important in the history of Socialism that it will not be superfluous to give it here *in extenso*.

(1) Labour is the source of all wealth and civilization, and as labour, in order to be profitable to all, must be produced by the collectivity, it is to the collectivity, that is to all members constituting society, that the entire product of labour should belong. All the members of the collectivity should be obliged to work, all enjoying equal rights and receiving from the stock of common goods produced by labour the part necessary for the satisfaction of their respective reasonable requirements. In our present society the means of production are the monopoly of the capitalists, and the forced dependence of the labouring classes resulting from it is the cause of servitude and misery in all its shapes and forms.

The liberation of labour postulates both the transformation of the means of production into common property and the regulation of all work by the collectivity, the products of labour being used in conformity with general utility and a just and equitable distribution.

The emancipation of labour must be the work of the labouring classes, in contradistinction to which all other classes constitute one reactionary mass.

(2) Basing itself upon these principles, the aim of the German Socialist Party of Working Men is the establishment, by legal means, of a Free State and of a Socialist society, the abolition of the iron law of wages by suppressing the system of wages, and the cessation of exploitation in every shape and form; the abolition of all social and political inequalities. The German Socialist Party of Working Men, although acting at present within national limits, is quite aware of the international character of the social movement, and is determined to fulfil all its duties which it imposes upon the working-men with a view to realizing the brotherhood of all men. In order to prepare

the way for a solution of the Social question, the German Socialist Party of Working Men postulates the creation of Socialist productive associations, aided by the State, and under the democratic control of the working-class. These productive associations in industry and in agriculture should have such an extension that they may ultimately give rise to a Socialist organization of collective labour.

The German Socialist Party of Working Men demands the following fundamental laws from the State :

(1) Universal, equal, and direct votive and electoral right for all citizens of both sexes of twenty years of age. Voting to be obligatory and secret, elections to take place either on a Sunday or a holiday.

(2) Direct legislation by the people. All decisions concerning war or peace to be made by the people.

(3) Universal military service ; the introduction of a national militia in the place of a standing army.

(4) Abolition of all laws relating to the Press, meetings and associations, and generally of all laws restricting the free expression of opinion, free thought and investigation.

(5) Jurisdiction by the people, free and gratuitous justice.

(6) Equal and free education for all by the State ; education to be obligatory, and the declaration of one's religion to be considered a matter of private concern.

The German Socialist Working Men's Party further demands, within the limits of the present existing social system :

(1) The widest extension of political rights and freedom in accordance with the principles enumerated in above paragraphs.

(2) One unique and progressive (sliding) income tax for both State and Municipality, or community, to take the place of existing taxes, especially those which weigh so heavily on the people.

(3) Unlimited right of coalition.

(4) The institution of a normal labour day according to the requirements of society; interdiction of work on Sundays.

(5) Abolition of child labour and of all work of women hurtful to either health or morals.

(6) Introduction of laws for the purpose of protecting the lives and health of the working-men. Sanitary control of the habitations of working-men. Inspection of mines, of factories, workshops, and home industries by officers elected by the working-men. A penal law on the responsibility of the employers.

(7) Control and regulation of prison work.

(8) Complete, free, and autonomous administration of all working-men's and subsidiary funds. Cf. W. Sombart, *Sozialismus und Soziale Ideen im 19ten Jahrhundert*; K. Diehl, *Ueber Sozialismus und Kommunismus.*

Great Britain, Socialism in. Ideas of social equality may be traced in England to the 14th century, when they were propagated by Wat Tyler and Flannoc during the Peasant Revolt. John Ball condemned the existing social system and preached human equality. In 1516 appeared Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, and in 1695 John Bellers (q.v.) agitated in favour of Communistic principles. In 1793 William Godwin (q.v.) described Communistic Anarchism as an ideal state of society. Thomas Spence (q.v.) founded a Socialist revolutionary party, and agitated for the socialization of land. Robert Owen (q.v.) was the originator of the first important Socialist Party in England, and among his followers may be mentioned William Thompson, I. F. Bray, and Abram Combe.

Christian Socialism (q.v.) was propagated in England after 1848 by Maurice, Kingsley, and Ludlow. On September 24, 1864, the famous meeting took place at St. Martin's Hall, London, where the foundation of the International Working Men's Association was decided upon.

John Stuart Mill was the originator of the idea of land nationalization, and in 1870 he became the moving spirit of the Land Tenure Reform Association. A new impetus was given to Socialist ideas in England in the early eighties, after the publication of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*.

In March 1880 the Democratic Federation was formed

by H. M. Hyndman, Herbert Burrows and Miss Helen Taylor, advocating a social revolution and class war. In his well-known work, *The Historical Basis of Socialism in England*, Hyndman wrote: "It is childish to overlook class antagonism as the great factor in all human progress throughout history, from the break-up of village communities to our own time. . . . Rather is it well to make ready, soberly and scientifically, for the Socialist organization of production, exchange, and international relations which—however threatening the aspect of affairs at this moment—must inevitably take its place as the future of our race" (p. 477).

In 1883 the organization adopted the name of Social Democratic Federation, and began a regular and active campaign in favour of the Marxian Socialism by means of open-air meetings, lectures, and the publication of pamphlets and of the weekly organ *Justice*. In 1883 the Fabian Society (q.v.) was founded.

In 1885 several members of the Social Democratic Federation, among them William Morris and Ed. Aveling, seceded and founded the Socialist League. The Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) was founded at Bradford in 1893. The party repudiated from the very beginning the theory of class war and was in favour of a conciliatory policy. Although the party proclaimed itself as Socialist in its tendencies, its aim being the ultimate transformation of private into collective possession of land and capital, it devoted its activity to social reform rather than pure Socialism. In 1899 the Independent Labour Party succeeded in persuading the Trade Union Congress to secede from the Liberal Party and form a party of its own. In 1900 the Labour Party was founded. It was first called the Labour Representation Committee (L.R.C.), but in 1903 it was reorganized, adopting the name of Labour Party. Its programme declared that the aim of the party was to unite Trade Unions, Socialist organizations, and local labour parties. It further declared that the aim of the party was to further the parliamentary election of candidates nominated by the affiliated organizations,

to form a separate group in Parliament, and to abstain from uniting with either the Conservative or Liberal Parties. In name the Labour Party has never been Socialist, but in practice it was always Socialist in policy. "The Labour Party," wrote Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, at a time when he was Chairman of the Party, "is not Socialist. It is a union of Socialist and Trade Union bodies for immediate political work—the Social Democratic Party having joined in at first, but after a year's co-operation having returned to its isolation in 1901. But it is the only political form which *Evolutionary Socialism* (the italics are mine) can take in a country with the political traditions and methods of Great Britain" (*The Socialist Movement*, p. 235).

During the European War the Labour Party of Great Britain supported the Government, and Mr. Arthur Henderson, the Secretary of the Party, was even made a member of the War Cabinet, although Mr. MacDonald, as Treasurer of the Party, was frequently accused of Pacifism. The Independent Labour Party, however, suffered greatly during the war at the hands of the British Government. At the elections of 1924 Labour gained a decided victory, and for the first time in English history a Labour Cabinet (with Socialist tendencies) was formed by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the leader of the Labour Party. The other Labour and Socialist organizations in Great Britain are: The Independent Labour Party, The Socialist Labour Party, The Communist Party of Great Britain, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, The National Socialist Party, and the Fabian Society. The National Guilds League, for the purpose of spreading the doctrines of Guild-Socialism (q.v.), was formed in 1919. Cf. M. Beer, *History of British Socialism*; W. E. Walling, *Socialism of To-day*.

Greece. Socialism in Greece dates back to the year 1885, when Professor Plato Drakoulès inaugurated Utopian Socialism in the country. He founded the review *Arden* at Athens. In 1901 he founded the League of the Greek Working Classes. The Socialist Party of Greece was founded on May 1, 1911. The Labour Movement, having suffered

greatly in Greece during the European War, the Socialist elements have joined the Inter-Balkan Socialist Federation.

Grütliverein, The, is a Swiss Working Men's Association, founded in 1838. At first the Grütli was only a national association and would have nothing to do with the International. In 1878 it adopted the principles of the Social Democratic Party, and many of its members are Socialists, but the programme of the Verein is, strictly speaking, one of social reform, the idea of social revolution being alien to it.

Guild Socialism is a term applied to the theory which postulates the industrial organization of the workers. The aim is to abolish the wage system and to establish self-government of the workers in industry through a democratic system of national guilds working in conjunction with a democratic State. Under Guild Socialism the management of each industry would be in the hands of a National Guild, including all workers of the industry. It would mean State ownership and Guild management of industry, a tax on the Guilds constituting the national revenue. Mr. G. D. H. Cole defines Guild Socialism as follows: "Guild Socialism is based on the idea of a partnership between the producers and the State in the control of industry. Guild Socialism recognizes that the State is necessary, and that a purified Parliament is necessary. . . . At the same time, Guild Socialists hold that the first need of Socialism is the placing of industrial power in the hands of the workers, and that without such industrial freedom every change in the structure of society must be a bureaucratic sham." Guild Socialists thus deprecate the idea of the State arranging matters, which state of affairs they deride as "bureaucracy masquerading as democracy." Guild Socialism, on the contrary, strives after freedom, and it maintains that "Real and effective power ought to be in the hands of the workers."

Workers of every kind would thus form an association or a national guild in any particular industry and "carry on that industry on behalf of the whole community." The movement of Guild Socialism, which originated in

England about 1900 and was inaugurated by S. G. Hobson, A. J. Penty and A. R. Orage, and popularized by G. D. H. Cole, is a combination of State Socialism and Syndicalism, the conciliation of the ideas of Collectivism and the supremacy of the workers as producers. Cf. A. R. Orage, *Alphabet of Economics*; G. D. H. Cole, *Self-Government in Industry* and *The Meaning of Industrial Freedom.*

History, Materialistic Interpretation of, is the interpretation of historical evolution as based only upon material factors. According to Marx and his followers only material interests sway the evolution of history and the development of society. The history of mankind is summed up as class-struggle. See *Materialist Conception of History.*

Humanism. Cult of humanity and the result of humanitarianism (q.v.).

Humanitarianism, the philosophical and social doctrine which takes as its starting point the principle of the interest of humanity. Pierre Leroux was one of the most eloquent exponents of humanitarianism among modern Socialists.

Icærie, Voyage en, is the title of a famous Socialist romance written by Cabet (q.v.) in 1842, and wherein the author propounds his Communist doctrines. Cabet imagines a community wherein the prevailing principle would be: From everyone according to his capacity, to everyone according to his requirements. It will require half a century, the author thinks, to transform private and individual into collective property, and thus realize his social ideal. During the period of transition, property and individual liberty will be maintained, but the various laws will pave the way for an increasing equality and decreasing inequality. Once society is transformed, i.e. based upon a collective economic system, property from individual will become private. Marriage will be obligatory, and thus the family will be maintained. Cabet's new republic is based both upon a Communistic as well as a theocratic system. See *Cabet,* Part II of this Dictionary.

Individualism is defined in Professor Murray's New English Dictionary as "Self-centred feeling or conduct as a principle." The term "individualism" may be applied to

metaphysics, ethics, and religion, as well as to economics and politics. Metaphysically it designates the theory which "explains the universe by a multitude of individual forces or wills"; as applied to economics it is the antithesis of Socialism, opposed as it is to any State interference in economic and industrial relations. Carried to the extreme, individualism is identical with Anarchism.

From the Socialist point of view, individualism is the principle upon which conservative political economists and partisans of the existing (capitalist) social order base their doctrine of *laissez-faire*.

Individualism, as opposed to Socialism, postulates the continuation of the present social system, which is based on the ownership of the means of production by private individuals. It favours free competition and free trade, and opposes control and interference by the State or the collectivity. Under a Socialist régime, individualists maintain, freedom would disappear and the individual would become the slave of the collectivity.

It would, however, be erroneous to imagine that all Socialists condemn the principles of individualism. Many Socialist writers, such as Lassalle, maintain that Socialism is not opposed to individualism; and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald writes that "Socialism is in itself a theory of individualism, because Socialists contend that only under Socialism will men be free" (*The Socialist Movement*, p. 28, note). Schaeffle (*Aussichtslosigkeit der Sozialdemokratie*) also wrote that "Socialism is individualism run mad."

Socialism is a reaction against individualism in so far as the latter has led to the development of a narrow and exclusive self-interest. It protests against the conception of individualism being the sole stimulus of human activity and the regulating factor of social harmony. What Socialism criticizes is the excessive abuse of the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, but not the principle of individualism. Agrarian collectivists have, anyhow, taken up the defence of the principle of individualism. Cf. R. Flint, *Socialism* (1894), pp. 95-100; I. S. Mackenzie, *Introduction to Social Philo-*

sophy; W. Donisthorpe, *Individualism* (1889); and A. S. Rappoport, article "Individualism" in *New Gresham Encyclopædia*.

Industrial Reserve Army, The, is an expression used by Marx and applied to that mass of workmen who are out of work and inactive not on account of overpopulation, but of the capitalist manner of production. The introduction of machinery and other means of industrial production employed under the capitalist régime increases the number of workmen who are unemployed. Capitalism makes use of this industrial army for the purpose of lowering the wages of the workmen.

The workmen, constantly threatened by this surplus of workers looking out for a job and ready to accept lower wages rather than starve, see themselves compelled to submit to the conditions and terms offered by employers.

Industrial Revolution is the term applied to that change effected in industry, in consequence of the inventions of the 18th century and of the mechanical appliances, which resulted in the suppression of the small producer, the growth of the influence of capital, and the utter dependence of labour on capital. The Industrial Revolution is the result of the introduction of modern machinery.

The mechanical inventions, such as that of the spinning jenny (James Hargreaves, in 1763), the mule spinner (Samuel Crampton, 1774), the steam engine (James Watt, 1782), the power loom (James Cartwright, 1785), etc., produced a complete revolution in the mode of production. The former independent workers became dependent on wages, the power and influence of capital increased, and society became divided into a vast mass of proletarian workers, on the one hand, and of a few capitalist employers, on the other.

Whilst the old hand-producer was personally independent, under the system of machine production the workers, who possess no instruments, no tools and no machinery, are dependent on those who possess the machinery, that is the capitalists. No longer does the workman own the tools of labour as well as the raw material of his industry. In con-

sequence of the Industrial Revolution labour underwent a tremendous modification and became subservient to capital. Cf. S. and B. Webb, *History of Trade-Unionism*; Arnold Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution*, and L. L. Price, article in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*.

Inheritance. In the Socialist State inheritance will not be abolished. Every worker will be allowed to leave to his successors his private and individual possessions. Socialism aims at the socialization and possession by the collectivity of the means of production only, but not of the goods of consumption. The latter will always remain the private property of the individual, to be enjoyed and disposed of by him as he pleases. If, therefore, the individual saves and accumulates possessions, consisting not in means of production, which will belong to the community, but in goods of consumption, or of enjoyment, he will be quite at liberty to leave these to his progeniture. As long as his possessions, such as books, furniture, even houses, constitute only goods of consumption and not means of exploitation, the individual will be free to dispose of them as he pleases, and his next-of-kin may inherit them.

Socialism is thus not opposed to inheritance in principle, but in a Socialist State inheritance will necessarily appear under a different form. At present land, mines, railways, and factories are private property and can be inherited. Inheritance, therefore, extends to means of production as well as of consumption. In a Collective State, where all means of production will be socialized, i.e. belong to the collectivity, the individual will not be able to dispose of any of these means of production in the interests of his successors. This, however, does not apply to the means of consumption, which Collectivism admits will remain individual and private property. As a result of his labour, every worker will receive a certain quantity of means or commodities of consumption. These commodities or means of consumption he will have a right to consume entirely, or, by saving a part of it, leave to those whom he pleases and wishes to benefit. Means of consumption and means of enjoyment, the private property of the individual and which

cannot be employed for the purpose of exploitation, the individual will be at liberty to dispose of as he pleases.

Again, under the capitalist régime private property, instruments and means of production, and all social advantages, are transmitted by one private possessor to another without any regard for personal merit. The result is that not only social advantages and private wealth are inherited by individuals who have done nothing to deserve them, but also social disadvantages and misery are the lot of generations. Socialism protests against such a state of affairs, and demands the abolition of the laws of inheritance and of succession, transferring the rights from the individual to the collectivity.

Socialists look upon the modification of the law of inheritance as a remedy against pauperism and the existing social evils. They hope thus to be able to transform, slowly and gradually, the means of production now owned by individuals into collective property. Saint-Simon in France waged war against the privilege of inheritance, although he admitted social inequality. Babeuf, Cabet, Morelly, and Robert Owen went further in their requests for equality, and were opposed to the privilege of inheritance. Scientific Socialists naturally postulate the abolition of the privilege, but the question becomes almost of secondary importance, once a Socialist society has been established. In a society in which all means of production will be owned by the collectivity, and where neither capital nor rent will exist, it is evident that the accumulation of vast wealth in the hands of single individuals will become an impossibility. (Such is the theory of Socialists, although the state of affairs in Soviet Russia ought to convince them of the futility of such a hope.) Cf. J. Ramsay MacDonald, *The Socialist Movement*, p. 129; Schaeffle, *The Quintessence of Socialism.*

Integral Socialism. Integral Socialism is a term which has been applied to the Socialism of Benoit Malon, de Paepe, and Lavrov. Their Socialism is also called *Idealist Socialism*, in contradistinction to the realist and scientific Socialism of Marx, Engels, and their followers. The basis of Integral

Socialism is not one class—the working-class—but suffering humanity in its entirety. Scientific Socialism takes into consideration only one determined class, and thus necessarily calls attention to class war, whilst integral or idealist Socialism is concerned with all those who suffer, no matter to what class they belong. It addresses itself to all elements of society, not only to proletarians, but also to the best elements of the bourgeoisie and of the ruling classes. Instead of class war and the clash of opposing interests, Integral Socialism aims at conciliation. It appeals to the bourgeoisie to act according to the principles of justice and logic, and not of individual interest. Integral Socialism does not admit the material and economic factors as sole motives of action; it is in favour of the integrality of factors, both material or economic, such as the mode of production, as well as ideal, such as must logically result from the principles of pure democracy.

Malon, one of the principal exponents of Integral Socialism, defined Integral Socialism as "Socialism viewed under all its aspects, with all the possible manifestations." By working hand-in-hand with the liberal elements of the bourgeoisie, who are desirous of social reforms, and by participating in the government and sharing the power with the present ruling classes, Socialism will realize its aims. Cf. Malon, *Le Socialisme Integral* (1890).

Interest may be defined as "the price paid for the use of capital." Socialism, postulating the abolition of private capital, considers interest as a form of exploitation by the capitalist. In a Socialist State, where the means of production and capital will be owned by the collectivity and not by private individuals, where wealth will be the product *of* labour and owned *by* Labour, the demand for private capital, and with it interest, will disappear.

International Socialist Bureau, The, was formed at the Congress of Paris in 1900 for the purpose of carrying on and arranging the business of the Socialist Congresses, and to keep in touch with all national Socialist groups in various countries. The headquarters were in Brussels, and almost every nation was represented on it. Since the

Congress of Hamburg (May 1923) the Secretariat is in London, and Tom Shaw and Fr. Adler were appointed joint secretaries. See *The Labour Year Book*, 1924.

International Working Men's Association. The idea of an international association of working-men for the purpose of fighting their oppressors is not a new one, as it may be traced as far back as the 18th century. Jean Meslier (q.v.), in his famous *Testament*, addressing himself to the oppressed, exclaimed: "Unissez-vous!" Several attempts to constitute an international association were made during the forties, but only Marx and Engels were successful in laying the foundation of an international association of working-men.

The history of the International is briefly as follows: In 1862 French manufacturers conceived the idea of sending delegates from the French working-men to the London International Exhibition, hoping that this visit would establish mutual relations in every way advantageous. It would not only enable the Frenchmen to get an idea of the artistic and industrial work at the Exhibition, but would also make them feel the mutual interests which bind the working-men of both countries and would thus replace national jealousy by fraternal emulation (Cf. E. de Laveleye, *Socialism of To-day*, p. 149). The French working-men received a cordial welcome, and a fête was organized at Freemason's Tavern. Two years later another deputation came over to London, and on September 28, 1864, a meeting of working-men was held in St. Martin's Hall under the presidency of Prof. Beesly, where Tolain spoke in the name of France. The idea of founding an International Association was adopted, and a provisional committee was appointed for the purpose of drafting a Constitution, to be submitted to the Universal Congress to be held the next year at Brussels. Mazzini was first asked to draw up the Statutes, but as he did not give satisfaction, Marx was entrusted with the task. England, France, Italy, Poland, and Switzerland were represented on the committee. A General Council, having its seat in London, was appointed with Odger as president

Wheeler as treasurer, and Cremer as secretary. Marx represented Germany. The funds raised amounted to £3.

The aim of the International was to amalgamate into a vast army all the working-classes of Europe and of America. The International, therefore, did not adopt the contents of the Communist Manifesto (q.v.), as it did not wish to exclude either the British Trade Unions, the adherents of Proudhon in France, Belgium, Spain, and Italy, or the followers of Lassalle in Germany.

The moderate Manifesto approved by the first Council of the International practically embodied the ideas of Marx. The statutes were drawn up at the Congress of Geneva, September 1866, on the basis of the provisional manifesto drafted by Marx.

It declared: That the emancipation of the working-classes must be carried out by themselves, and furthermore that this struggle did not imply a struggle for either class privileges or monopolies, but a struggle for equal rights and duties, and for an abolition of class domination.

That the basis of servitude, of misery, degradation, and political dependence is to be sought in the economical dependence of the working-man upon the monopolists who detain all means of production. That, consequently, the great aim for the purpose of which all political movements should be utilized is the economic emancipation of the working-classes. The failure of all previous endeavours is due to a want of union between the various departments of labour of each country, and to an absence of a fraternal bond uniting the working-classes in different countries.

That the emancipation of the working-classes is neither a local, nor a national, but a social question embracing all countries and dependent upon the practical and theoretical co-operation of the advanced countries. That the present movement among the working-classes in the European industrial countries raises new hopes, but must beware of a return to old mistakes.

The Congress, for these reasons, declared that the International Workmen's Association acknowledged truth, justice, and morality as the basis of their behaviour, and

regarded it as the duty of every man to demand the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but also for everyone who does his duty. " No rights without duties, no duties without rights."

After the first conference held in London in September 1865, the International convened several Congresses, at Geneva in 1866, at Lausanne in September 1867, at Brussels, in September 1868, and at Basel in September 1869.

The last Congress of the First International was held at The Hague, where the adherents of Marx triumphed and the followers of Bakunin were expelled. The seat of the General Council was transferred to New York, and the International came to an end. It was reorganized as the Second International in 1889, at the Congress of Paris, and an International Socialist Bureau (q.v.), with its seat at Brussels, was formed. During the European War, communications between Socialists in hostile countries were impossible, although informal conferences of allied delegates were held in London and abroad. In 1917 an International Congress ought to have been held at Stockholm, but it failed on account of Mr. Lloyd George's refusing to grant a passport to the British delegate, Mr. Henderson. In the meantime, the Russian Bolshevik *coup d'état* and the Revolution in Germany took place. At the Conference of Lucerne, August 2–9, 1919, the recommendation of the committee for the Reconstruction of the International was accepted, and a congress was convened at Geneva in February 1920. A conference was subsequently held at Berlin (April 1922), and a United Congress took place at Hamburg (May 1923). In the meantime, the Russian Communist Party, headed by Lenin and Trotzky, convened a conference at Moscow (March 1919) for the purpose of constituting the Third (or Moscow) International, also called the Communist, or the Red International. A manifesto, drafted by Lenin, Trotzky, Zinoviev, Rakovsky, and Fr. Platten was issued. This manifesto lays stress upon the necessity of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, criticizes the attitude of other Socialist parties who were mendacious and superficial

and declares that the " United Communists of the Third International were the direct successors of the true Socialists, the champions and martyrs from Babeuf to Karl Liebknecht." The New Labour and Socialist International, as distinguished from the Moscow or Communist International, was organized at the Congress of Hamburg in 1923 (see *The Labour Year Book*, 1924, p. 378). Cf. J. Guillaume, *L'Internationale* (1905) ; M. Hillquit, *Socialism in Theory and Practice* (1909) ; H. W. Laidler, *Socialism in Thought and Action* (1920).

Internationale, L', is a revolutionary song, called the " Marseillaise" of the Social Revolution, and composed by Pottier. It consists of 5 couplets, each containing 8 lines and a refrain of 4 lines. The song runs as follows :

Debout! les damnés de la terre!
Debout, les forçats de la faim!
La raison tonne en son cratère
C'est l'éruption de la fin.
Du passé faisons table rase,
Foule esclave, debout! debout!
Le monde va changer de base;
Nous ne sommes rien, soyons tout!

C'est la lutte finale,
Groupons nous et demain,
L'Internationale
Sera la Genre humain.

Il n'est pas de sauveurs suprêmes:
Ni Dieu, ni César, ni tribun ;
Producteurs, sauvons nous nous-mêmes :
Décrétons le salut commun!
Pour que le voleur rende gorge,
Pour tirer l'esprit du cachot,
Soufflons nous mêmes notre forge,
Battons le fer quand il est chaud!

L'etât comprime et la loi triche ;
L'impôt saigne le malheureux ;
Nul devoir ne s'impose au riche ;
Le droit du pauvre est un mot creux.
C'est assez languir en tutelle,
L'Egalité veut d'autre lois;
Pas de droits sans devoirs, dit-elle,
Egaux, pas de devoirs sans droits!

Hideux dans leur apothéose,
Les rois de la mine et du rail
Ont-ils jamais fait autre chose
Que dévaliser le travail ?
Dans les coffres forts de la bande
Ce qu'il a crée s'est fondu ;
En décrétant qu'on lui rende
Le peuple ne veut que son dû.

Les rois nous soûlaient de fumées
Paix entre nous, guerre aux tyrans !
Appliquons la grève aux armées,
Crosse en l'air, et rompons les rangs !
S'ils s'obstinent, ces cannibales,
A faire de nous des héros,
Ils sauront bientôt que nos balles
Sont pour nous nos propres généraux.

Ouvriers, paysans, nous sommes
Le grand parti des travailleurs ;
La terre n'appartient qu'aux hommes,
L'oisif doit loger ailleurs.
Combien de nos chairs se repaissent !
Mais, si les corbeaux, les vautours,
Un de ses matins disparaissent,
Le soleil brillera toujours !

C'est la lutte finale,
Groupons nous, et demain
L'Internationale
Sera le Genre humain.

—*Pottier.*

Internationalism. Internationalism, Socialists maintain, is not to be confounded with either anti-patriotism or even anti-nationalism. It merely means an international *entente* between working-men of all countries, in defence of the interests of the labouring classes, against Capitalism and the Bourgeoisie. More and more art and science tend to become international, and capitalism, above all, is international, the interests of capitalists in different countries being identical. In opposition to the internationalism of capital, Socialism postulates the internationalism of labour.

Internationalism, therefore, does not exclude nationalism or patriotism. The Socialist Internationalism only means

the *entente* and union between the working-classes against the internationalism of the capitalists and of the bourgeoisie. As long as countries and States exist, it is the duty of Socialists to defend the independence and interests of their respective native lands. They may, however, endeavour to come to an understanding with the proletariat of other countries, equally exploited by the capitalist and bourgeois classes.

Internationalism thus implies at first an international coalition of working-men of all countries with a view to the emancipation of the proletariat. It then urges the unification of humanity, the abolition of all race hatred, and a suppression of all frontiers between nations. The regeneration of humanity, internationalists maintain, can only emanate from a cosmopolitan agitation.

Intervention. Interventionism is a term applied to the intervention of the State in the management of divers industries. This is done either by the State exercising the power of control and protection, or by becoming the actual producer. Socialists are generally in favour of the State being the sole producer.

Iron Law of Wages, The. See *Wages, Iron Law of.*

Italy. Socialism in Italy dates back to 1869, when Bakunin formed a branch of the International at Naples. The first Socialist organizations were constituted in the country by the so-called humanitarian republicans, disciples of Mazzini and Garibaldi. In 1872 the Italian Federation of the International was organized in Rome. The Partito Socialista Italiano—the Italian Socialist Party—saw its beginnings towards 1891–1892.

At present there are three Socialist groups in Italy :

(1) The Italian Socialist Party, representing the extreme left of the Socialist Movement.

(2) The Reformist Socialist Party, formed in 1912, and opposed to the doctrines of class struggle and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(3) The Communist Party of Italy, consisting of Members who, at the Congress of Livorno, in 1921, seceded from the Italian Socialist Party.

The Italian Socialist Party was the first powerful party which allied itself with the Moscow International (Third). The Party decided, in March 1919, to withdraw from the Second International, and the visits of Ramsay MacDonald and Jean Longuet, in June of the same year, proved of no avail. At the elections of 1919 the Socialists had a great victory, returning 159 members to the Chamber of Deputies. Cf. W. E. Walling, *Socialism of To-day*; *The American Labour Year Book*, 1919.

Jacquerie is a term applied to the insurrection of French peasants which took place in 1358, and caused by the violences of the lords (seigneurs) and their exactions. The insurrection spread over the provinces of Beauvois, Amienois, and Vermandois, but was ultimately crushed. The word Jacquerie is derived from Jacques, or clown.

June 1848, Revolution of. It was in June 1848 that the insurrection of the working-men of Paris took place, one of its immediate and direct causes being the dissolution of the Atéliers Nationaux (q.v.). By a decree of February 25, 1848, the Provisional Government of the Republic had promised the people to guarantee the "right to work." It failed to keep its promise, and the Atéliers Nationaux were dissolved. On the 22nd of June the insurrection broke out, and was suppressed on the 27th. About 15,000 working-men perished.

Kathedersozialismus is a term applied to a group of German political economists who, as professors of universities, lecture on Socialism and maintain that the working-men ought to receive a bigger share in the distribution of wealth. Among well-known Kathedersozialisten were: Roscher, Hildebrand, Schmoller, Konrad, Lujo Brentano, and Wagner. See *Socialism of the Chair*.

Labour. Labour, in political economy, is considered as one of the factors of production, either as manual, intellectual, or organizing labour. Collectivists, however, maintain that labour is the *only* productive element creating wealth, and that capital has no right to any profit. The value of a product should be fixed by the amount of labour spent on its production. This is called the system of labour value.

Marx's theories of labour are based on the teaching of Smith and Ricardo. "Labour," says Adam Smith, "is the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and in all places be estimated and compared—equal quantities of labour, at all times and in all places, may be said to be equal value to the labourer."

And Ricardo wrote: "Gold and silver, like all other commodities, are valuable only in proportion to the quantity of labour necessary to bring them to market."

From the point of view of Socialism labour is, therefore, the sole source of wealth, and only in so far as they are the result of human labour and toil have objects any real value. Commodities are nothing but crystallizations of human labour, or a mass of "congealed labour time." Objects ought, therefore, to be estimated according to the quantity of labour expended upon their production, and this quantity measured by the average time required to perform it.

Labour being the sole factor in the economic process, it naturally follows that the labourer alone produces wealth, and is alone entitled to enjoy it.

Labour power, according to Marx, is the sole source of value, and has itself the value of the social normal labour time incorporated in it, or necessary to its reproduction. Cf. G. Stone, *A History of Labour*; J. S. Nicholson, *Principles of Political Economy*.

Labour Exchanges. The idea of Labour Exchanges first emanated from Robert Owen, who suggested their institution in order to enable all producers to exchange their goods for others. Labour exchanges, or buildings where labour organizations are conducted, exist in France, Italy, and other countries, where they have been established by the respective Governments of the countries. The most famous labour exchange is that of Paris (Bourse de Travail), founded in 1887. The new building, which also contains an Employment Bureau, was opened in 1892.

Labour, Knights of, is an association of American labourers constituted for the purpose of providing for the

working-men who are members of the association an industrial and social education, and of organizing the workers in their struggle against the monopolists and financiers. Its programme consists of twenty-two articles. The association, at first condemned by the ecclesiastical authorities, obtained, through the intervention of Cardinal Gibbons, a certain measure of tolerance from the Pope.

The founders of this order maintained that with the development of machinery the difference between skilled and unskilled labour tended to disappear. Their purpose was to help the lowest strata of workmen to fight against the oppression and exploitation of capital.

The Knights of Labour have Socialistic leanings, but they cannot be called Socialists, as they are opposed to the idea of the class war.

Labour, Normal Day of. One of the aims of Socialists is to limit the time of labour to a normal number of hours. As a result of the development of industry the labourer is compelled to work beyond his strength, enjoying no leisure, and having no time for either recreation or instruction. The demand is international, and has found recognition in the legislation of almost all civilized countries. See *Eight Hours.*

Labour, Productive, is a term employed by the physiocratic school to designate agricultural work, which alone they considered as productive. Since, however, labour and productive labour have become almost synonymous.

Labour Question. The Labour question is to be distinguished from the Social question, being a part of the latter. The social question is concerned with *all* the evils of society, whilst the labour question deals only with production and the relations of labour to capital.

Labour, Right to the entire product of. This theory has been formulated by some Socialists. In reality, however, even in a Socialist State the worker will not receive the entire produce of his labour. The surplus value, it is true, will not be pocketed by the capitalist, but part of the product of labour will be destined to defray the expenses of organization and government. It will be the only taxa-

tion in a Socialist State. Cf. Anton Menger, *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag*; R. Flint, *Socialism.*

Labour, Stolen, is a term used by Karl Marx, who maintained that wages are always reduced to the strict minimum of what the working-man requires for his sustenance. If, therefore, the work of six hours is sufficient to make a working-man live, he is working during the surplus number of hours for nothing, producing value which is usurped by his employer. See *Surplus Value, Wages, Iron Law.*

Labour Time. One of the many Socialist theories is that not money, but a certain quantity of labour performed should form the unit of value. The idea had already been propounded by John Bellers, Robert Owen, and John Gray, who advocated labour notes. A working-man, a labourer, would get a note certifying the quantity of labour he had produced, and which he would exchange for other goods he required. The standard of value, Socialists maintain, is human labour, or "the manual and mental powers of man called into action."

Labour Time, Necessary, is a term applied by Marx to that portion of the day during which the workman produces the necessary quantity of work (*Capital*).

Labour Value. One of the principal theories of Socialism is that of labour values, for labour alone constitutes the right to property and is the measure of exchange value. The theory, as Beer has rightly pointed out (M. Beer, *History of British Socialism*, p. 189), is an English theory, and was formulated in the 17th century by Sir William Petty (*Economic Writings*, 1899, p. 68).

In the Social State the value of a commodity will be measured only by the labour expended on its production. Labour value will thus take the place of money value; and the price of a commodity will be fixed according to the number of hours expended. See *Money.*

Land Nationalization, the return of the land to the nation and the abolition of private ownership of the soil. The supporters of land nationalization consider the private ownership of land as the source of all social evils, and demand the transformation of land from private into

collective property. Thus the earlier Communists, such as Morelly and Mably in France, and Th. Spence in England, were land reformers. The theory was shared by Henry George. The Belgian Socialist, Jean Guillaume Alexandre Colins (q.v.), formulated the theory that the soil should be at the disposal of all. Immovable property belongs to all. In England, the idea of land nationalization originated with J. S. Mill, although Thomas Spence (q.v.) had already formulated a scheme of land nationalization (see Hyndman, *The Historical Basis of Socialism*, p. 448). Mill became the moving spirit of the Land Tenure Reform Association. The land nationalization movement found an adherent in Henry George, who in his work *Progress and Poverty* advocated the idea of making land common property, and of confiscating rent by taxation. Herbert Spencer, too, in his *Social Statics*, suggests the idea of making the soil collective property, and of farming out portions for a short time to individuals.

" Property," wrote Mill, " consists in the right to dispose of goods acquired by labour, or received from the producer, either by contract or inheritance, without fraud or violence." It consequently follows that the land which has not been produced by human labour cannot constitute private property. It ought, therefore, to be requisitioned and taken over by the State.

Other apostles of the idea of nationalization of land were Rousseau, Froude, Ruskin, and Alfred Russel Wallace.

This demand is part of the Socialist programme, and some writers with Socialist tendencies have put their complete trust and hope in this measure. The majority of Socialists, however, are of opinion that land nationalization without the socialization of all means of production will not put an end to the era of exploitation.

The demand for the nationalization of land forms part of the programme of English Socialists ever since the creation of the Social Democratic Federation (1883), to which have been added the demands for nationalization of capital, of means of production and of transport. See *Agrarian*

Socialism. Cf. K. Kautsky, *Bodenbesitzreform und Sozialismus* (1890); Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*; Nichus, *Geschichte der englischen Bodenreformtheorien* (1910). See also Beer, *History of British Socialism*, and R. Flint, *Socialism*, pp. 202-230.

Lausanne, Congress of. The Congress of Lausanne, the second after the foundation of the International, was held in September 1867. This Congress decided that henceforth political questions should not be separated from social problems. The Congress further condemned the practice of co-operative societies which, by taking off a certain portion of the profits, so as to increase their capital, become by this fact bourgeois exploiters and constitute a new obstacle to the emancipation of the proletariat.

Levellers, an English political party formed as a result of the Revolution of 1648. The Levellers demanded the abolition of Royalty and aristocracy, and the foundation of a Republic of Equals, under the name of *Christian Society*, with community of goods. The Levellers were powerful for some time, but were dispersed by Cromwell, who put their principal leaders to death.

Libertaire is a term applied in France to the Revolutionary Syndicalists, who repudiate the authoritative and often autocratic spirit of Collectivism and claim perfect liberty.

Liquidation, Social, is an expression or term applied to the ensemble of measures which will ultimately assure and bring about the transformation of individual and private into collective property. This social liquidation will consist of two phases: (1) Nationalization of property, either with or without indemnity or by expropriation; (2) Socialization (q.v.) of all capital and wealth of every nature thus acquired.

Lock-out is a term applied to the coalition of employers formed for the purpose of closing simultaneously their factories. This measure is frequently resorted to by employers in order to prevent the working-men from continuing their strike, whilst receiving subsidies from their comrades who are employed.

Luddites, Song of the, is a song composed by Byron in 1816 in praise of the Luddites.

As the Liberty lads o'er the sea
Bought their freedom, and cheaply, with blood,
So we, boys, we
Will die fighting, or live free,
And down with all Kings but King Ludd.

Though black as his heart its hue,
Since his veins are corrupted to mud,
Yet this is the dew,
Which the tree shall renew,
Of Liberty, planted by Ludd.

Malthusianism is a term applied to the doctrine of Malthus, British economist (1766–1834), who, in his *Essay on the Principles of Population* (1798), maintained that the increase of the population and the decrease of the means of life are the cause of the misery of the poor. He therefore advised the restriction of marriages and the practice of self-restraint, so as to diminish the population, especially among the poor. Socialists refute the Malthusian doctrine. According to the Socialist teaching the cause of human misery is to be sought not in the continuous increase of the population, but solely in the unjust and inadequate distribution of employment and social wealth. Once the Collective system is established and is working regularly and normally, production will increase in equal proportion with population.

William Godwin, in his famous works, *Political Justice* (1793) and *Of Population* (1820), denies the theories of Malthus.

William Thompson, in his *On Enquiry* (1824) and *Practical Directions* (1830), proposes various remedies with a view to preventing overpopulation. Henry George criticized and ridiculed Malthusianism, accusing the author of his incapacity to think logically. Like all Socialists, he refuted the theory that overpopulation is the cause of the economic misery of the poor. Proudhon, too, ascribed pauperism and overpopulation to the existing economic

system. Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx (in his *Capital*), Karl Kautsky in *Der Einfluss der Volksvermehrung auf den Fortschritt der Gesellschaft*, and August Bebel in *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*, all criticized Malthusianism.

John Bellers (q.v.) maintained that pauperism is not the result of overpopulation, but is due to the fact that the means of production are owned by the rich, for whom the labour of the poor is a veritable goldmine. Robert Wallace, in his works, *A Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind* (1753), and *Various Prospects of Mankind, Nature and Providence* (1761), shares with Malthus the fear of the danger of overpopulation, although he maintains that the means of sustenance could be increased in proportion. Cf. H. Soetbeer, *Die Stellung der Sozialisten zur Malthusischen Bevölkerungslehre.*

Mammonism (from Mammon, the demon or god of wealth) is an expression frequently used by Socialist writers, and applied by them to the cult of Capitalists for the god of money. Mammonism is frequently used in contradistinction to pauperism. Productive work in the present existing society is necessarily swallowed by capital, and widens the gulf existing between the very wealthy and the disinherited. Mammonism reigns on the one side, and pauperism on the other.

Manifesto of the Communist Party, or Communist Manifesto. In 1847 the Congress of the Alliance des Communistes, or Communist League (q.v.), in London, invited Marx and Engels to elaborate a programme of the party. The programme appeared in London in February 1848, and shortly afterwards in Paris.

According to Engels, the fundamental idea of the Manifesto is the theory that economic production and social structure are always at the basis of the political and intellectual history of a certain period or epoch. Ever since the introduction of private and individual property, wrote Engels, the whole history of humanity has been class struggle, the struggle between the ruling and the oppressed classes, the exploiting and the exploited. This class struggle has now reached such a state that the

oppressed class cannot emancipate itself without liberating at the same time once and for ever the whole society, freeing it for always from exploitation and class struggle. This idea, wrote Engels, belongs exclusively to Marx.

The Communist Manifesto has been translated into almost all European languages, and is one of the most popular Socialist documents. It is considered a masterwork of agitatorial cleverness and contains the nucleus of Marxian Socialism. The Communist Manifesto is divided into four parts. The first contains a sketch of the history of Social Evolution. The authors point out that the history of Society has hitherto been the history of Class War, and that society is now divided into two classes: Bourgeoisie and Proletarians.

Class War is a political struggle, and political power is power organized and usurped by one class for the purpose of exploiting and oppressing another class. Modern Governments are, therefore, only a Committee managing affairs in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Modern industry, created by the bourgeoisie, has become international. It has also given rise to a new class of exploited, the modern workman, the proletarian, who will ultimately deal the death-blow to the bourgeoisie.

Gradually becoming conscious of their power and increasing in force, the proletarians, whose ranks are swelled by numbers of small tradesmen, artisans, peasants and bourgeois intellectuals, are preparing for the final battle with the Bourgeoisie. Hitherto all movements of revolt against social injustice have been movements of minorities, but the modern proletarian movement will be a movement *by* the majority for the benefit *of* the majority. National at the start, it will soon be international, for "the working-men have no country."

The second part of the Manifesto contains the doctrines of the Communist Party and their justification; the programme and the means of its realization. It postulates the organization of the Proletariat into a class, the possession of political power by the Proletariat, abolition of bourgeois private property created and accumulated

by the labour of the wage-earners for the benefit of the Capitalists. It also predicts the abolition of bourgeois freedom, of the bourgeois family, of religion and of traditional morality. The Manifesto further suggests the following measures of transition from the bourgeois to the proletarian State:

Confiscation of Capitalist income; progressive taxation, abolition of inheritance, centralization of credit in the hands of the State by means of a national bank; centralization of all means of transport, agricultural operations carried out on a large scale, industry handed over to national factories, compulsory labour for all, and free and public education for all children.

The third part of the Manifesto contains a criticism of the hitherto existing Socialist and Communistic doctrines, of reactionary and bourgeois Socialism, the Utopian Socialism of Cabet, Fourier, Owen, and others.

The fourth part contains a summary of the position of the Communists and their tactics in face of the opposition. It concludes on a distinctly revolutionary and international note:

"The Communists disdain to hide their views and aims. They proclaim it openly that their goal can only be reached by a violent overthrow of existing society. May the ruling classes tremble before an approaching Communist social revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose in such a social revolution but their chains. They have a world to gain. Proletarians of all countries, unite."

Cf. S. P. Orth, *Socialism and Democracy in Europe*; Diehl, *Ueber Sozialismus.*

Manualism is a term applied to the theory of those Socialists who maintain that labour and the labouring classes should be represented in Parliament and other elective bodies by manual labourers. Manualism thus tends to exclude the intellectual workers. Against this idea the majority of Socialists, especially the leaders, who are mostly intellectuals, are naturally opposed. The Proletariat, they argue, is composed not only of manual

but also of intellectual workers, and it is the aim of Socialism to liberate from oppression all workers who contribute to the creation of wealth, whether by hand or brain. All who work to earn a living and only possess their labour force, manual or intellectual, are included in the Proletariat.

Marriage. Numerous Socialist writers, whilst criticizing the bourgeois marriage arrangements, are in favour of an abolition of the family institution, and of its absorption into the community, the legalization of free love, the right of husband and wife to separate at will, and the control of the children by the State instead of by the parents. As in the Socialist State woman will no longer be economically dependent upon man, there will be no necessity for any binding contracts. The property in the children would also cease to exist. "Marriage," write Morris and Bax (*Socialism*, pp. 299–300), "would be the basis, not of a predetermined lifelong business arrangement, to be formally and nominally held to, irrespective of circumstances, but on mutual inclination and affection, an association terminable at the will of either party." Thus in the Social State, as postulated by Lafargue, Bebel, and many other Socialist writers, the breaking of the marriage tie, even if marriage unions would for the most part remain constant, would be facilitated to the utmost. Cf. Bebel, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*; Belfort Bax, *The Religion of Socialism.*

Mastic is a French popular, or argot, term applied to a milder form of *Sabotage* (q.v.). Whilst sabotage consists in destroying machinery or raw material, the system of the masticeur is simply to bring machinery out of gear so as to diminish production.

Materialist Conception of History. This term is applied to Marx's theory of social development. The doctrine, also known as *historical determinism*, has been summarized by Engels as follows: The theory of the materialistic conception of history is based upon the proposition that the production of the means to support life and the exchange of commodities produced constitute the basis

of all social structure. In all societies which have appeared in history, the manner of distribution of wealth and the division of society into different classes or orders are always dependent upon what is being produced, how it is produced, and how all the products are exchanged. Starting from this point of view, we find the final causes of all social changes and of all political revolutions in the constant alterations of the modes of production and exchange, and not in the human brain or in the human comprehension of external truth and justice. The final causes are to be sought in the economics of each particular epoch, and not in its philosophy.

The very fact that humanity is now more than ever considering the existing social institutions as unjust, proves that changes have taken place in the modes of production and exchange and are in contradiction with a social order adapted to earlier economic conditions. It also follows that the means of getting rid of these contradictions thus brought to light must necessarily exist within the changed modes of production themselves, naturally in a more or less developed condition. Such means cannot be invented by deduction, but are discovered in the realities of the existing system of production. Such is the view of Engels, but many modern Socialists reject the theory of materialist conception of history, or *economic determinism*. They maintain that it is, after all, the mind of man, "with its ideals, its sense of right and wrong, and its aspirations, which makes economic poverty and injustice a serious grievance and gives them that explosiveness which makes them a cause of revolution" (see Ramsay MacDonald, *The Socialist Movement*, p. 145). Cf. Engels, *Die Entwickelung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft*; Ch. Rappoport, *Un peu d'Histoire* (in Encyclopédie Socialiste); E. R. A. Seligman, *Materialistic Conception of History*.

May 1st, Manifestation of. The origin of an international manifestation of the working-classes on May 1st dates from 1889. At the International Socialist Congress held at Paris in 1889, a French delegate, R. Lavigne, proposed that a general and international manifestation

should be held by working-men on a fixed date in all countries for the purpose of obtaining from the authorities in power the introduction of an eight-hours day of labour. The proposal, before being brought before the Congress, was submitted to the German delegates Bebel and Liebknecht, who gave their consent, although they knew very well that they thus furnished Bismarck with a new pretext for persecution. The plan was voted by the Congress; the date of May 1st was only incidental. It was adopted because the American Labour Federation had already fixed that date for a manifestation to be held in 1890.

At the Congress of Brussels, convened in 1891, it was decided that henceforth May 1st should be observed by the international proletariat as a day of rest, and one on which the proletariat affirms its class consciousness and its decision ultimately to obtain its emancipation.

Mehrarbeit is a portion of the work for which, according to Marx, the working-man is not remunerated. See *Surplus Value.*

Mennonites, a sect of Anabaptists (q.v.), founded by Simon Menno (1492–1561) who preached Communistic doctrines. The Mennonites object to taking oaths, making war, or going to law. Cf. G. Adler, *Geschiehte des Sozialismus und Kommunismus.*

Middle Classes is a term applied to the social classes consisting of small landowners, merchants and industrials. Socialists, in their endeavour to abolish concentration of capital and industry in the hands of the privileged classes, hope for a rapid disappearance of the middle classes.

Millenarians, a Judæo-Christian sect, believing that the Last Judgment would be preceded by a period of one thousand years, during which time humanity, under the rule of Christ and of the Saints, would enjoy perfect happiness. Some historians have pointed out the analogy existing between the hopes of the Millenarians and the Socialists, who expect to realize a state of happiness for humanity.

Minimum Wage is an expression used for the first time in 1874 by Lloyd Jones in an article wherein he demanded

the fixing by the State of a minimum or living wage for workers. The plan has been advocated in England, especially for the benefit of those who do not belong to Trade Unions. The minimum wage demand is not an item of the Socialist programmes.

Misery of Philosophy, Misère de la Philosophie (*Elend der Philosophie*), the title of a famous work by Karl Marx, written in 1846, and being a reply to Proudhon's *Philosophie de Misère.* In this work Marx expounded his ideas in opposition to those of Proudhon, whom he severely criticized. The *Misery of Philosophy* is considered as an introduction to Marx's *Kapital.* In this work Marx already develops his realism and his scientific method, in opposition to Proudhon's idealism and *a priori* method. He also outlines his theory of value which he afterwards developed in his *Kapital.* Labour is the source of value. Time is the measure of labour, the relative value of a commodity being determined by the time expended upon its production. Price is the monetary expression of the relative value of products. The *Misère de Philosophie*, written in French, was translated into German in 1892 by K. Kautsky and E. Bernstein.

Money is an article in use as a medium of exchange. It thus expresses a standard of value which does not change. Socialism, however, maintains that labour alone is the true standard of value. In a Socialist State, therefore, money will become superfluous, as it will be replaced by labour cheques. According to Marx (*Capital*, vol. ii) money will no longer be necessary in a Socialist State, where the means of production will be owned collectively. The community will distribute labour force and means of production among the different branches of industry and commerce. The producers may receive certificates, in exchange for which they will receive from the communal stores a quantity of commodities for consumption in proportion to their labour-time. But these certificates are not money, as they will not circulate.—Theories of monetary reforms were expounded before Marx by J. Gray, R. Owen, and Proudhon. Cf. W. Sombart, *Sozialismus*

und die Soziale Bewegung im 19ten Jahrhundert (1908); F. Muckle, *Die Geschichte der Sozialistischen Ideen im 19ten Jahrhundert* (1909); M. Beer, *History of British Socialism* (1920).

Moravian Brethren, Communism of the. The Moravian Brethren were a community formed in Prague in the middle of the 15th century. Persecuted by Emperor Ferdinand and the Catholics, they took refuge in Moravia, where they found many adherents. The Moravian Brethren were Christian Communists, and endeavoured to introduce the communism practised, or supposed to have been practised, by the first Christians. They preached fraternity and humanitarian principles, and were mostly agriculturists. In 1722 they established their principal college at Herrnhut, in Upper Lusatia.

Mur des Fédérés, a wall in the cemetery of Père Lachaise, in Paris, where the members of the Commune were shot in 1871 (May 28th). Since 1880, French Socialists undertake an annual pilgrimage to this historic wall, expressing their hope in and expectation of a coming social revolution.

Mutualism is the doctrine according to which social reform would be obtained by means of an industrial association governed by the reciprocity of respect and service. See *Proudhon.*

Nationalization, appropriation by the State of private property for the purpose of exploiting it in the interests of the nation. The State either pays an indemnity to the owners, or refuses to do so. See *Socialization.*

Neo-Collectivism. Neo-Collectivism is to be distinguished from Collectivism proper, favouring as it does the ownership of private property for the purpose of small culture and small industries. Jaurès in France, and Van der Velde in Belgium, are among the most prominent partisans of Neo-Collectivism. See *Collectivism.*

Netherlands, Socialism in the. Socialism in Holland arose towards the middle of the last century, about 1848, and soon after the foundation of the International sections was established at Amsterdam. The first real Dutch Socialist organization was founded at Amsterdam in 1878

through the initiative of H. Gerhardt, and it soon gained many adherents through the influence of a young Lutheran pastor, Domela Nieuwenhuis, who, in 1879, founded the journal *Recht voor Allen* (*Right for All*). The *Socialdemocratishe Bond* (*Social Democratic Federation*) was constituted in 1881, uniting the groups existing in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Haarlem. This party having adopted Anarchist principles, several members seceded and founded, in 1894, the Social Democratic Party. At present there are three Socialist organizations in Holland :

(1) The Social Democratic Labour Party, founded in 1894, opposed to the policy of revolutionary mass action and in favour of political action. The party advocates nationalization of land and socialization of industries.

(2) The Social Democratic Party, which consists of those who seceded from the parent organization in 1911.

(3) The Communist Party of the Netherlands, which consists of the adherents to the Social Democratic Party, reorganized in 1918, and affiliated to the Third International.

(4) The Federation of Christian Socialists.

Cf. W. E. Walling, *Socialism of To-day* ; Jean Longuet, *Le Mouvement Socialiste International.*

Orbiston. A social experiment was made in 1825 by Abram Combe, who bought Orbiston, near Motherwell, and formed a community after the Owenite theories, introducing Communism. Orbiston, like other Communistic experiments, proved a failure. It came to an end in 1827. See *Communistic Experiments.*

Pantisocracy is the name given by Coleridge to a proposed Communist colony, based on the principle of perfect equality. " Pantisocracy ! Oh, I shall have such a scheme of it," he wrote in his letters to Southey in 1794. Cf. Beer, *History of British Socialism*, vol. i.

Pauperism. The existence of a class of society in a constant state of poverty and misery, unable to earn their living, either on account of their laziness or of social injustice, and compelled to appeal to charity and to State assistance. Socialists maintain that the real cause of

pauperism is the present Capitalist social system. In a Socialist State, where all will be compelled to work and where the labourer will receive the entire produce of his work, pauperism will disappear. See *Malthusianism.*

Perfectionists, name applied to the settlement of Communists at Oneida, founded in 1847 by John Humphrey Noyes (1811–1886) in the State of New York. See *Oneida Community.*

Phalanstère is a term applied to an association of men imagined by Fourier. A phalanstère consists of about 1,800 persons, subdivided into groups. All the divers passions of man are satisfied, and labour becomes attractive instead of being an unpleasant task. See *Fourier.*

Physical Force, Party of, is the name applied to the extreme left wing of the Chartists (q.v.) led by the Irish deputy O'Connor. He advised revolutionary means, and particularly a general strike, which had already been resorted to in 1834 by the disciples of Robert Owen. These fruitless attempts were repeated with equal lack of success in 1842 and in 1848.

Picketing is a term applied to the system employed by working-men on strike. It consists in working-men mounting guard in the vicinity of factories for the purpose of persuading their colleagues to cease work and to join the strikers.

Political Economy is the science which deals with the laws regulating the production and distribution of wealth. The term *economics* is now more frequently used. It discusses the production and sale of goods, price and money, labour and wages, and all the conditions under which men satisfy their needs by producing or exchanging commodities necessary for their subsistence.

Proudhon maintained that political economy itself is not a science, but that the application of the principle of justice to political economy is one. To political economy Proudhon opposes social economy. He admits, however, that political economy contains the elements of a social science, which we can utilize for the purpose of elaborating laws of humanity. Political economy is full of errors and

mistakes, and to correct these mistakes is, according to Socialist theory, the work of Socialism. All Socialist writers, since Marx, who based his theories upon the doctrines of Adam Smith and Ricardo, have severely criticized the teaching of conservative or bourgeois political economists.

Pool (**Fr. Poule**) is an arrangement concluded by producers for the purpose of raising the prices of a certain commodity. A pool is to be distinguished from a *corner* and a *trust*. The latter are applied to coalitions of speculators, whilst a pool is an arrangement concluded by producers.

Positivism, the philosophical system of August Comte, which consists in a gradual elimination of all religious and metaphysical elements from our conceptions, substituting for them a research after facts, and laws which are the laws of natural phenomena.

Positivism, however, is not limited to theory and metaphysical speculation ; it also concerns itself with reality and deals with social problems which it pretends to solve. In this respect Positivism is interesting with relation to Socialism. Socialists aim at equality and endeavour to abolish existing inequalities, whilst Positivists admit and accept the inequalities inherent in nature and endeavour to make use of such inequalities in the interests of the collectivity.

Possibilism, a term applied to the Socialist theories of the French Socialists Allemane, Malon and Brousse. In 1881 they formed a new group whose idea was to divide the Socialist demands, some of which could be rendered *possible* at once.

Price. Socialists maintain that the price of a commodity is determined by the fluctuations of supply and demand, but that the real value of it is not affected by the law of supply and demand. The real value of a commodity is determined by the labour expended upon its production. See *Labour Value.*

Production, Factors of, are the elements which jointly produce and create wealth. Economists distinguish three

such elements: Nature, labour and capital. The distribution of wealth between capital and labour is one of the most difficult questions of political economy. Socialists, however, maintain that labour alone is creating wealth, and is therefore entitled to the entire product, capital having no right to any share.

Production, Means of. Means of production are to be distinguished from objects of production. The latter are furnished by nature; the former are the forces which man utilizes for the purpose of transforming the objects of labour for a determined purpose.

Production, Mode of, is a term applied by Marx to the manner in which commodities are produced for immediate use. It is the manner of production and not the number or quantity of products which distinguishes one economic period from another.

Productive Associations are associations founded by working-men for the purpose of producing as well as selling the products of their labour. In Germany, Lassalle agitated for the establishment of such associations, subsidized by the State. In England, the movement was inaugurated by the founders of Christian Socialism, Kingsley, Maurice, and others. Such was the London Working Men's Productive Association. In 1883 a new agitation was launched, and the Labour Association for promoting co-operative production was founded. In France, the idea may be traced to Faiguet (q.v.) and Restif de la Bretonne (1789). It was also agitated in 1848, and realized to some extent since 1871.

Productive Forces is a term applied by Socialists to all the elements required for the production of work and the products of labour. All the resources of nature, machinery, means of transport and communication, capital and human labour, constitute so many productive forces. The greater the quantity of productive forces outside human labour, the smaller the quantity of human labour required.

Profit. According to Socialist doctrines, profit is labour which has not been paid for. There is a difference between

the value of the work and the wages paid for it. See *Capital ; Surplus Value.*

Profit Sharing is the division of profits between capital and labour, or between employers and employed. The principle of profit-sharing was introduced by Edmé Jean Leclaire (1801–1872), a Parisian housepainter who organized a system of profit-sharing among his workmen in 1853.

A certain number of British employers have now inaugurated the system of profit-sharing, thus making a step on that road upon which Socialists hope to lead society. But only the followers of Evolutionary or Reform-socialism (see *Revisionism*) approve of the measure. Whilst benefiting the employer, for it is a stimulus for the workmen to produce more, profit-sharing certainly tends to ameliorate the lot of the workman. Revolutionary Socialists, however, condemn the principle of profit-sharing, which they consider only as a lure inaugurated by capitalists. Production, they maintain, has its limits, and profit-sharing, although it stimulates production, must ultimately end in overproduction and unemployment.

The principle of profit-sharing is made use of in all co-operative societies of production, where the three elements, capital, talent, and labour, form the basis of distribution. Each member receives a salary determined according to his value, and afterwards, when the profits are distributed, a part, in proportion to his salary. This system is criticized by many Socialists, who maintain that distribution of profits should be based not on the quality, but on the quantity of labour furnished. Altogether, Marxian Socialists assert that all profit is produced by labour and labour alone, and that the entire profit ought, therefore, to belong to the workmen. As for capital, it should be owned by the collectivity and not by private individuals. In a collective society all the profits, and not a share, will go to the labourers, who will be both capitalists and workers. Cf. N. P. Gilman, *Profit-sharing between Employer and Employed* ; James A. Bowie, *Sharing Profits with Employers.*

Progress. According to Socialist ideas, progress never proceeds from individuals but from the community.

Proletariat is the term applied to the class of society consisting of men who live from day to day and are never safe for the morrow. Their hands (or heads) and their power to work are their only source of revenue.

Socialists maintain that the relations between those who possess and those who do not are not natural. "Nature," wrote Marx, "has not produced possessors of capital, of money and goods on the one hand, and possessors only of their labour force on the other" (*Capital*, vol. i).

Having been dispossessed of the means of production, the working-men are no longer able to live by utilizing their labour force themselves, but are compelled to sell it to the capitalists, who thus dispose not only of the workmen's labour force but also of their persons. "The history of the expropriation of the working-classes," writes Marx, "is written in letters of blood and fire in the annals of humanity" (*Capital*, vol. i).

"The constitution of a class of proletarians," wrote Lamennais, "is *une espèce d'ésclavage temperé par le salaire*." Morally, the Proletariat is a step in advance of serfdom, but in reality it is only a question of degree. Socialists, therefore, maintain that the Proletariat will only disappear together with the anarchic system of competition, individual and private property, and the introduction of Collectivism. Cf. K. Kautsky, *Die Diktatur des Proletariats*.

Property, Collective, is property belonging to the collectivity, such as the State, the community, or an association. Collective property is distinguished from individual property, which is owned by individuals.

Property, Private. Property means both the exclusive right to the possession, disposal and use of things, and the things owned by a person or persons. It is to be distinguished from possession, as it also implies the legal right of ownership. Property may be either private, i.e. belonging to separate and single individuals, or collective, i.e. belonging to the collectivity. It is thus either individual and private, or national and collective.

Socialists look upon private property as the product of other men's labour. Private property confers upon individuals the power to exploit the labour of other men without giving them any equivalent for it. They define it as "the appropriation of the labour of others."

According to Lassalle, property, that is the property accumulated by capitalists, ought to be called *altruity*, i.e. belonging to others. *Eigentum ist Fremdentum*, wealth being merely the fruit of the labour of others. Liebknecht (*Socialism: What it is and what it seeks to accomplish*) points out that for the majority of men under the capitalist régime property is a lie, whilst for the minority it is simply robbery. Under Socialism, which would abolish the capitalist system of robbery and of plunder, everybody would possess property, as the workers within society would be assured of the full product of their respective labour.

Thus, whilst conservative political economists make no distinction between private property, which is the result of personal labour, and capitalist property, which is the result of the labour of others, Marx and all Socialists lay stress upon this distinction between individual and capitalist property. The former term is applied to property produced and made use of by the owner himself. Before the Industrial Revolution (q.v.) and the rise of the system of capitalist production, producers worked on their own account. Whatever property they accumulated it was the result of their personal labour. Such is not the case under the Capitalist régime. The wealth is created not by capitalists themselves but by wage earners, that is not by the labour of the owner but by that of others. Capitalist proprietors have thus expropriated the labouring proprietors. See Deville, *Principes*; and Guesde and Lafargue, *Programme*.

Lafargue wrote a work entitled *La Propriété, origine et évolution* (1898), and Proudhon a brochure under the title *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?* (1840), wherein he made use of the famous phrase: *La Propriété c'est le vol*. His phrase, however, had already been employed previously by

Brissot in his *Recherches philosophiques sur le droit de propriété.* Cf. E. de Lavelaye, *De la Propriété et de ses formes primitives* (1874); A. Wagner, *Die Abschaffung des privaten Grundeigentums* (1870).

Prostitution. This social evil is, according to Socialists, the result of the existing economic system of private property, of the unequal distribution of national wealth, of the pecuniary embarrassment of the working-classes, and of the consequent late marriages of a number of men compelled to earn their living. Prostitution is only one of the many social evils resulting from a system which enables the strong and the wealthy ones to exploit their weaker fellow-creatures. A complete and radical change alone will put an end to this as to many other social evils. See *Free Love.* Cf. Belfort Bax, *The Religion of Socialism.*

Purchase is one of the measures advised or suggested by certain Socialists who are in favour of granting an indemnity to all capitalists and possessors of private property, whilst the latter is being transformed into collective property. Not all Socialists, however, agree to such a measure. See *Expropriation.*

Rattening (to ratten, play the rat) is a term applied to a system employed by strikers with a view to preventing their comrades from continuing work. This is done either by hiding the tools or clothes of the working-man or putting other obstacles in his way. The name "rat" is given to those who accept lower wages than those fixed by the trade union; it is also applied to working-men who leave their comrades during a strike and accept the place of a striker.

Reformism is a term applied to the doctrine of social reformers who are to be distinguished from Socialists. The latter aim at the complete transformation of the economic system of society, the creation of a Collectivist or a Communist State, and production in common, whilst social reformers merely claim new laws based on social justice. By these means they hope to protect labour and ameliorate the lot of the Proletariat.

Religion. Socialism is in principle not hostile to religion,

and among the early Socialists the social doctrine has even assumed a religious tinge (see *Christian Socialism*). The Scientific Socialism of Marx, however, is distinctly anti-religious. Modern religions are, according to Marx, nothing but human systems projected into a Beyond and dependent upon the material-economic foundation of society. Although the majority of modern Socialists are atheists, they nevertheless recognize the hold of religion over the minds of men and, for the sake of propaganda, preach tolerance and declare religion to be a private and individual concern. No. 6 of the Statutes of the Erfurt Programme (q.v.) declared clearly that religion is to be considered a private concern. The Bolsheviki in Russia, however, are persecuting religion, and this fact proves that once the Socialists arrive to power they are decided to eradicate religion. See Robert Flint, *Socialism*; E. B. Bax, *The Religion of Socialism* (1896), pp. 48–53.

Republic. Socialists are naturally in favour of a Republican régime, for it is under a republic that the Socialist ideal will be the easier realized. "The democratic Republic," wrote Engels, "is the form of State under which the final and definite struggle between the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat will be best waged."

Republic, Social, is a term applied by Socialists to the political régime under which capital and all means of production will be socialized.

Revisionism is a term applied to the Socialist theories first formulated by Eduard Bernstein. Whilst accepting in principle Marx's economic doctrines, Bernstein and his followers maintain that these doctrines need revision, Marx being wrong in many of his statements. Thus, the Revisionists do not believe in introducing Socialism by a sudden social revolution, the movement being subject to evolution rather than revolution. The Socialism of the Revisionists is, therefore, also known as Evolutionary Socialism.

Bernstein puts his trust in the reform capacity of the State rather than in the revolutionary capacity of the proletarian masses. He attacked the fundamental ele-

ments of the Marxian doctrines, such as the theory of value, that of the concentration of capital, the ideas of class-warfare and of the materialist conception of history. He denied, however, the accusation that he had abandoned the idea of the conquest of political power by the proletariat. "I am opposed to the idea," wrote Bernstein, "that the collapse of the bourgeois society is near at hand and that social democracy, basing itself on the imminence of the social catastrophe, should regulate its tactics accordingly. The partisans of the theory of cataclysm quote the Communist Manifesto in corroboration of their views, but they are wrong. The authors of the Manifesto had miscalculated the time of the evolution, and Engels himself admitted his error in his Preface to *Class War in France*."

The economic situation has not evolved in the way foretold in the Manifesto, and it is useless to deny the fact. The number of capitalists, instead of diminishing, has increased. The concentration of production does not proceed so rapidly as has been imagined. Bernstein has expressed his theories in his work, *Die Voraussetzungen des Socialismus und die Aufgaben der Socialdemocratie* (1889).

The Revisionists thus maintain that, pending the establishment of a Socialist State, constructive work ought to be carried on in the meantime, such as Co-operation and Trade Unionism, and other social reforms. In England, many so-called Socialists are Revisionists and adhere to the idea that "the conquest of political power by the proletariat is not to be the signal of revolution, but the occasion for transformation." Thus Mr. Ramsay MacDonald writes: "And he (Bernstein) does this whilst continuing to proclaim himself a Socialist, because he takes the true scientific view that every dogma and every theory is subject to the law of evolution as well as society itself" (Ramsay MacDonald, *The Socialist Movement*, p. 213). Cf. K. Kautsky, *Le Marxisme et son critique Bernstein* (Fr. transl. 1900); Ch. Rappoport, *Socialisme de Gouvernement et Socialisme Révolutionnaire* (1902); Bernstein, *Zur Geschichte und Theorie des Marxismus*

(1900); Werner Sombart, *Socialism and the Social Movement* (1919).

Revolution, Social, is the substitution of the Collective for the Capitalist régime. Without predicting exactly when this social revolution will take place, Socialists are nevertheless convinced that sooner or later the social revolution will be effected; it will put an end to the present existing economic system. In the meantime, Socialism enjoins its followers to organize and prepare for this final struggle. If the bourgeoisie submits gracefully, no violence will be made use of, otherwise the bourgeoisie will have itself alone to blame.

The majority of Socialists are of opinion that the transformation of private into collective property and the abolition of the wage-system will only be the result of a revolution culminating in the triumph of the Fourth Estate (q.v.). Utopian Socialists, all those who appeal to the idea of justice and humanity instead of basing themselves upon historic determinism and materialistic conceptions of history, naturally expect the amelioration of society in a peaceful manner. Proudhon, Lassalle, Louis Blanc, and Robert Owen all placed their hopes in peaceful change and transformation. Marxian Socialists consider the revolution necessary. Whilst some, however, take the term in a literal sense, others explain it metaphorically, as a revolution which need not be accompanied by either violence or bloodshed. Cf. K. Kautsky, *Die Soziale Revolution*; Ch. Rappoport, *La Révolution Sociale.*

Right to Laziness is one of the demands of many Socialists, who thus wish to lay stress upon the fact that man does not live solely for the purpose of work. The healthy normal man has a striving for activity, but he has also a right to leisure. Man is not only a wage-earner, but also a man, and has a right to moments of leisure when he is free and can exercise his activity, both physical and mental, as a free man and his own master. Cf. Lafargue, *Le droit à la Paresse*; A. S. Rappoport, *Labour, Social Reform, and Democracy*, vol. i, chap. 1.

Right to Work, the theory in virtue of which every

man should be guaranteed and enabled to find, in whatever sphere his activities may lie, work sufficient to provide him with the necessary means of subsistence.

The principle of right to work was already suggested during the French Revolution, and postulated in 1789. It occurs also in an edict of Queen Elizabeth dated 1601. It was, however, Fourier who, for the first time, in his *Théorie des quatre mouvements*, declared the Right to Work to be a natural right of all men. In modern society where man can only live by work, he must be guaranteed by society that he will always find it. "It is useless," adds Fourier, "to babble of human rights, if we forget the most essential of them, and that is the right to work, without which all other rights are valueless." Fourier, of course, was of opinion that this right could become a reality only in the society as suggested by himself, but Considérant (q.v.), in his *Théorie du droit de la Propriété et du droit de travail*, maintained that even in a capitalist society this right could be complied with.

Louis Blanc (*Organization du Travail*), and most modern State Socialists, believe that the solution of the problem is only possible through the organization of labour by the State, the right to work being incompatible with the economic theory of supply and demand and the principle of competition. For the first time in history the right to work was legally guaranteed during the February Revolution (25th, 1848) by the Provisional French Government. It declared that "The Provisional Government of the French Republic solemnly promised to guarantee the existence of the workman by means of work." It promised to find work for all citizens. The result was the establishment of the Atéliers Nationaux (q.v.).

The right to work was defined by Proudhon as the right possessed by every citizen, whatever his trade or profession, to constant employment, being paid a wage fixed according to the actual and normal rate of wages. Proudhon, however, maintained that there is an incompatibility between the right to work and the right to property. Proudhon, it must not be forgotten, was not,

as it is erroneously believed, a Collectivist and an opponent of private property (see *Proudhon*). According to Proudhon, the right to work, as understood by Louis Blanc, implying the duty of the State to provide labour, would only exhaust the finances of the State, which would have to provide all the money, buildings, tools, machinery and materials, to carry on the labour. It would have to provide labour, not only for manual, but also for intellectual workers. It would ultimately lead to an appropriation of all means of production by the State and to an abolition of individual property.

The affirmation of the right to work, therefore, implied a denial of the right to property. Proudhon, therefore, suggested the *right to credit* instead of the right to labour. Marx criticized the principle very severely, and called the right to labour "a clumsy formula expressing the revolutionary demands of the proletariat." (See Diehl, *Ueber Sozialismus*, p. 278, and Marx, *Der 18te Brumaire*).

Modern Socialists hold that the realization of the principle of right to work in a Socialist sense is impossible under the Capitalist régime and could only be made effective in the Collective Republic.[1] Modern Socialists, therefore, abandoned the idea of insisting on this right as members of a Parliament or of affirming and guaranteeing it as a Government. They wait for the period when with Collectivism and the abolition of the wage-system the right to work will become possible. Cf. J. Garnier (editor), *Le Droit au Travail à l'Assemblée Nationale, recueil complet de tous les discours, etc.* (Paris, 1848).

Rochdale, Pioneers of, is the name taken by the twenty-eight British weavers who founded the first co-operative society of consumption at Rochdale, on December 21, 1844.

Roumania. Socialism in Roumania dates back to the last decade of the nineteenth century. The first party was formed between 1890 and 1899, and an organ entitled *Lumea Nova* (The New Light) was published at Bukarest. The soul of the Socialist movement in Roumania in 1907 was Dr. Christian Rakovsky, Russian Chargé d'Affaires

[1] What about Russia ?

in London in 1924, born in the Dobrudja in 1877. He was subsequently expelled from Roumania, under the pretext that in 1877 the Dobrudja had not yet been annexed by Roumania and that Rakovsky was consequently a foreigner. During the European War Socialism in Roumania suffered considerably. Dr. Rakovsky and other leaders were arrested. He escaped to Russia, where he was kept a prisoner during the Kerensky régime. Liberated after the Bolshevik *coup d'état*, he became one of the Soviet officials. The Socialists returned twelve deputies in the elections of 1919, and have severed connection with the International Socialist Bureau. Cf. Jean Longuet, *Le Mouvement Socialiste International*; W. E. Walling, *Socialism of To-day*.

Russia, Socialism in. Socialism in Russia may be traced to about 1880. In 1884 the Social Democratic Party was founded in Switzerland by four militant revolutionaries: Plekhanov, Vera Sassoulitsh, Deutsch, and Axelrod, whose methods of propaganda were inspired by the teaching of Marx. They spread the ideas of Marx among the labouring classes, and from 1891–1894 a series of strikes were declared over Central Russia. In 1895, a vast strike was organized by Lenin and Martov. In 1900–1901, the Socialist Revolutionary Party was reorganized under the leadership of Lavrov, and one of its most influential members was Victor Tshernov. In 1903 the Social Democratic Party broke into two factions: The *Bolsheviki* (see *Bolshevism*) and the *Mensheviki*. After the unsuccessful Revolution of 1905, the Socialists adopted parliamentary tactics and were able to elect members to the Duma in 1907. The movement had, however, to fight against Tsarist reaction, and the majority of the leaders were in exile. The Russian Revolution took place in March 1917, and a few months later a moderate Socialist Government, under Kerensky, was set up. This Government was overthrown on November 7th (October 25th), 1917, and a new Socialist, or Bolshevik, Government was set up under the leadership of Vladimir Oulianov (Nicolai Lenin). Supported by the Soviets of Workmen's and

Soldiers' Delegates, the Bolsheviki have remained in power ever since. The policy of the Bolshevik Government is a class government, deriving its power from the proletariat, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is consequently one of its principal doctrines. See *Bolshevism* and *Dictatorship of the Proletariat.*

In March 1919 a Conference was held at Moscow, at which thirty-two delegates representing Socialist groups from twelve different countries were present. A manifesto was drafted by a committee consisting of Lenin, Trotzky, Zinoviev, Rakovsky and Platten, postulating the organization of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Councils for the purpose of fighting the bourgeoisie all over the world. The Manifesto, that of the Third International, further criticized the superficiality of all other Socialist parties who are inclined to work together with the bourgeois elements, and appealed to the proletarians of all countries to unite under the banner of Communism and to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat (which, of course, means for the dictatorship of the self-appointed leaders of this mythical and powerless proletariat). Cf. A. S. Rappoport, *Pioneers of the Russian Revolution*; Jean Longuet, *Le Mouvement Socialiste International*; John Spargo, *Bolshevism*; see also A. J. Sack, *Birth of the Russian Democracy.*

Sabotage is a term applied to war practised by dissatisfied working-men, and which consists either in producing bad work or in destroying machinery or the raw material. The practice of sabotage is employed by Syndicalists, and is advised by many Socialist groups. The term is derived from the French: *travailler comme un sabot.* See *Syndicalism.*

Saint-Simonism. The social doctrine of Saint-Simon (q.v. in Part II).

Salariat, or **Wage-System,** is the economic régime under which labour is considered as a commodity, its value being estimated in the same manner and subject to the same laws as other commodities. The salariat or wage-system is supposed to be the third stage in the economic and

social evolution of society, the first two having been slavery and serfdom. The next stage, maintain the Socialists, will be a régime under which the working-men will be the possessors of the means of production, and will consequently receive the entire product of their labour. Cf. W. T. Mills, *The Struggle for Existence* ; Ch. Rappoport, *Un peu d'Histoire.*

Scientific Socialism. This term is applied to the Socialism taught by Marx and his school, as distinguished from the Utopian, Christian, and Integral Socialism. It is called scientific because it is not supposed to be a preconceived system, but to be based upon a critical analysis of social evolution and upon a materialistic interpretation of history. Just as slavery was succeeded by serfdom, and serfdom by the system of salariat or wage earning, so the present capitalist and individualist régime will ultimately be replaced by a collective régime. Cf. F. Engels, *Die Entwickelung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft.*

Serbia, Socialism in. The first Socialist groups were constituted in Serbia towards the end of the 19th century. After the revolution of 1903, and the accession to the throne of the dynasty of Karageorgevitch, the Socialist movement developed more freely. The Socialist Democratic Party of Serbia was founded on July 20, 1903, and declared its adhesion to the programme of Erfurt (q.v.). Socialism suffered greatly in Serbia during the war. The Social Democratic Party of Serbia (Yugo-Slavia) has allied itself with the Third (Moscow) International. Cf. Jean Longuet, *Le Mouvement Socialiste International.*

Serfdom is another mode of exploitation of man by his fellow-man, and which succeeded upon that of slavery. It was prevalent in the Middle Ages.

Single Tax is an economic reform postulating the abolition of all taxes with the exception of one (Single) to be raised upon land values. The scheme was first developed by Henry George, who defined the single tax as follows : " We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others

a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to utilize them by employment of labour or abandonment to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work to all men and secure to each the full reward of his labour."

Although some Socialists are not opposed to the movement, Scientific Socialism deprecates it. Such a measure would never enable labourers to get the whole product of their labours. It would not afford equal opportunities to all, and there is no reason why any difference should be made between land property and other property, and particularly the means of production which the present owners have not produced by their labour. Cf. H. M. George, *Progress and Poverty: an inquiry into the cause of industrial depressions and of increase of want with increase of wealth; the Remedy*; M. Hirsch, *Democracy versus Socialism.*

Slavery may be defined as the state of men deprived of their personal freedom, and who are the property of other men. The civilizations of antiquity, even those of the ancient Hebrews, Greeks and Romans, were based on slavery. The question of slavery in antiquity has been frequently discussed by historians and political economists. Whilst criticizing the injustice of the institution, many scholars admit the necessity of slavery in antiquity. See for Bibliography on the subject, A. S. Rappoport, *Labour, Social Reform, and Democracy*, 1924.

Even Socialists admit that slavery was necessary for the development of society and civilization. F. Engels almost agrees with Treitschke, who said that "Without slavery in antiquity there would be no modern socialism" (*Keine Kultur ohne Diensboten*). Cf. Wallon, *Histoire de l'Esclavage dans l'antiquité* (1879); Ingram, *History of Slavery and Freedom* (1895); Letourneau, *Évolution de l'Esclavage* (1896).

Slaves, War of the, is a term applied to three risings of slaves in Rome. The first revolt took place in Sicily

(135–133 B.C.) and was led by the Syrian Tussus. Victorious at first, it was soon suppressed. The second revolt occurred in 105–102 B.C., equally in Sicily. About a million slaves perished in these revolts. The third revolt, led by Spartacus, lasted from 73 to 71 B.C. and spread over a great part of Italy. Spartacus and 40,000 of his followers perished near the river Silarus.

Social Connections is an expression employed by F. Lassalle, and applied to the ensemble of external circumstances which contribute almost exclusively to the accumulation of vast fortunes. Saving and thrift, according to Lassalle, never create capital, which is the result not of voluntary privation, but of social connections.

Social Democratic Party (Germany). The Social Democratic Party was the name adopted by the former German *Socialistische Arbeiterpartei* at the Congress of Halle in 1890. This party became the largest in Germany, and in 1903 it sent 81 members to the Reichstag. In 1912 it sent 111 members to the Reichstag, and had a powerful Press at its disposal, controlling nearly 100 newspapers and journals. At the outbreak of the European War it had a membership of over one million. In 1921 the Party had 108 representatives in the German Reichstag, and it defined its programme as follows: "The aim of social democracy is Socialism, not to be gained by any violence or dictatorship of the proletariat, but by pure democracy and by the will of the people" (*Vorwärts*, April 9, 1920). See *Germany, Socialism.*

Social War is an expression familiar to the Revolutionary Socialists, and which is usually applied either to the class struggle or to the phase succeeding the social revolution.

Sociale, La, is a term applied by French Socialists to the society of the future to be established by Socialists.

Socialism of the Chair is a name given in Germany to the political economists who, in the Chairs of Universities, profess economic doctrines with Socialist tendencies. In opposition to the old conservative economists, the Socialists of the Chair, or the *Kathedersozialisten*, basing themselves upon historic data and facts, are convinced

that the whole social problem is only a question of the distribution of wealth. Attacking the principle of *laissez-faire*, and the theories of the Manchester School, Socialists of the Chair maintain that whilst granting individual liberty, it is the duty of the State to limit it wherever the interests and welfare of the community demand it.

The old school of economists looked upon political economy as a science of reason rather than of observation, but the Kathedersozialisten, or Socialists of the Chair, maintain that economic problems do not admit of general and *a priori* solutions which economic science is called upon to supply. The method of the Kathedersocialist is realistic, i.e. it is founded on facts. It is further a mistake, the Socialists of the Chair maintain, to imagine that *laissez-faire*, *laissez-passer*, or the free play of personal interests, will result in order and in a distribution of welfare in proportion to the efforts of individuals. As men are not perfect, and more often than not desire what is wrong instead of what is right, liberty, if not restricted, leads to iniquity and spoliation. Very few men trouble themselves with morality or justice. The principle of *laissez-faire* can only end, as we see in industrial countries such as England, in a war of classes and in a constant antagonism between employers and employed. The liberty of man must, therefore, be restricted. The distribution of wealth ought to be regulated by principles of equity, the labourers receiving a larger share than they do at present. The result, however, the Socialists of the Chair assert, can only be realized, neither through liberty and natural laws, as the older economists thought, nor through the class war and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, as the Scientific Socialists maintain, but through the action of the legislature and the existing State. The State, representing the best of the nation, is the instrument of justice, the organ of right, and the agent of progress and of civilization. It is the duty of the State to protect the weak and to suppress the abuses of the powerful. It is the mission of the State to see that personal liberty is respected, but it is also its duty to watch that the rules of equity and morality are

enforced and that the will of the individual, inclined to selfishness, be subordinated to the welfare of the collectivity and to the rules of justice.

The Socialists of the Chair further point out that the old economists had confined themselves to the problem of the *production* of wealth, paying only little attention to the question of its *distribution.* In reality, however, the question of the distribution of wealth is the great problem. They reject the views of orthodox economists who believe that all will be well if we give free scope to natural laws and to unrestricted liberty. The Socialists of the Chair admit that Socialism has rendered a great service by calling attention to social iniquity and evils, but they do not accept the Socialist solution, namely, the radical change of the social order. They are in favour of successive and rational reforms and of a series of improvements introduced by the State, and inspired by sentiments of equity, morality, and justice. In a word, political economy is to become an ethical science.

Among prominent Socialists of the Chair may be mentioned: L. v. Stein, Roscher, Hildebrand, Von Thünen, Schmoller, Brentano, Schönberg, Roesler, Dühring, Schaeffle, v. Scheel, Herkner, v. Schulze, Gävernitz, Adolf Held, L. Luzzatti, and others. Cf. Werner Sombart, *Socialism and the Social Movement*; K. Diehl, *Ueber Sozialismus und Kommunismus*; R. Ely, *German and French Socialism.*

Socialism—Definitions. See *Definitions.*

Socialist League. The League was an English Socialist society founded in 1885 by the dissident members of the Social Democratic Federation (q.v.), led by William Morris. The members of the League, mostly scholars, artists and agitators, paid special attention to theoretical questions and problems. They were not Marxian Socialists, but rather inclined to Anarchism. They published the *Commonweal,* and existed until 1894. The majority of the members joined again the Social Democratic Federation. Cf. H. W. Laidler, *Socialism in Thought and Action.*

Socialization is a term applied to the act by which the

means of production will be handed over to the collectivity, thus transforming the capitalist into a collective system. Socialization means the abolition of private and individual, and the introduction of collective property. Collectivists demand the socialization of the means of production only, whilst Communists wish to introduce the socialization both of the means of production and of the goods of consumption. Cf. H. Strobel, *Socialization in Theory and Practice*; K. Kautsky, *Was ist Socialisierung* (1920).

Society, Capitalist, is a term applied by Socialists to the present system of society, based on the predominance of capital, its characteristic trait being the oppression and exploitation of labour. It is also called Bourgeois Society. This present régime Socialism aims to abolish, establishing in its place a society with a collective régime.

Spain, Socialism in. Utopian Socialism may be traced in Spain to 1848, when Sagrario de Veloy, a friend and disciple of Fourier, made an attempt to establish a phalanstère. The modern Spanish Socialist movement dates back to 1868, when sections of the International were established. The Socialist Labour Party, the foundation of which was decided in 1873, through the influence of Paul Lafargue, was actually organized in 1879, and the soul of the movement was Pablo Iglesias.

At present there are two important Socialist parties in Spain:

1. The Socialist Labour Party.

The Spanish Socialist Party decided in 1919 against all interference in Russian affairs. It refused, however, the proposition to affiliate with the Third (Moscow) International.

2. The General Labour Organization, founded in 1889. It is a federation of trade unions who sympathize with moderate Socialist doctrines. Cf. W. E. Walling, *Socialism of To-Day*.

Standard of Living is a term applied to the theory which maintains that wages depend upon the standard of living of the working-man and upon what he considers as the lowest level on which he can live. This theory, adhered

to by many trade unionists, is opposed by Socialists, who maintain that in a competitive society the labourers' endeavour to maintain the standard of living will always be lowered by men who will consent to work for less rather than starve. Socialists assert that wages do not depend upon the standard of living of the labourer; on the contrary, the standard of living depends upon the wages he can obtain. The only remedy, therefore, is the substitution of a collective régime for the competitive one.

State. The State may be defined as the body politic, or the entity of Society exercising a sovereign political will. It is the realization of unity in common laws and common government. The terms State and Society must not be confounded. The term Society is wider than State, as it denotes "an assembly of individuals living together and united by social interests," no matter whether organized or not. "It is," to quote Professor Barker (*Political Thoughts of Plato and Aristotle*), "the impartial and mediating authority which corrects the individualism of society in the light of the common interest."

There may often be a discord between Society and the State, the former being democratic or even Socialist and the latter not, and vice versa. (See Professor Hearnshaw, *Democracy at the Crossways*, 1918, p. 25.) Mr. Ramsay MacDonald defines the State as "The political personality of the whole community, both in its internal and external relationships" (J. Ramsay MacDonald, *Socialism and Government*). Not all Socialists, however, agree with him.

Many Socialists maintain that the State, under the capitalist system, is "an organization of all the forces, physical and intellectual, for the purpose of enabling one class to exploit and oppress another."

"It is a machinery of oppression," wrote Engels, "oppression by one class, the ruling class, of another, the Proletariat. This holds good both under a monarchic régime as well as in a bourgeois democratic State." The labouring classes, in order to obtain their purpose, the rule of the proletariat, will avail themselves of the machinery of the State, but only for a certain time, until

the day when a new generation consisting of men, free and equal, will be able to dispense with forms of government.

In his *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Engels also emphasizes the idea that the State pre-eminently serves to support the ruling classes, enabling them to exploit and oppress the Proletariat.

" We fight," wrote Marx, " against all States."

As long, therefore, as different classes of society exist, the State will exist. But as the present State is the protector of the capitalist and the bourgeois class, it is the aim of the Socialists to take possession of the State, and to usurp political power. The Proletariat will then be able to say: *L'État, c'est moi.* Once in power, once master of the State and dictator, the Proletariat will realize its plans of an abolition of class distinctions, which will lead to the superfluity and disappearance of the State. Cf. Charles Vérecque, *La Conquête Socialiste du Pouvoir politique.*

State Socialism. Under State Socialism we understand the Socialist doctrine which demands State intervention with a view to changing the capitalist into a collective régime. This is to be effected by gradually nationalizing the means of production, especially the big enterprises, such as railways, mines, banks, tramways, factories, etc.

The term State Socialism may, therefore, be applied to the social policy which requires the State to take certain measures in the interests of the masses and thus limit the economic liberty of individuals. Thus, when the State nationalizes railways, or introduces for certain industries a normal day of labour, we often speak of State Socialism, although it is not. The theories of Lassalle and of Rodbertus, who advocated the introduction of the new social order with the assistance of the State and not by means of any revolutionary movement of one class, is also State Socialism and to be distinguished from the former, which is only social reform and not Socialism, as it does not strive to abolish the private ownership of means of

production. Kautsky defined State Socialism as "the Intervention of the State in the economic conditions of the country with a view to making an end to the struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat and conciliating the social classes."

State Socialism is deprecated by real Socialists, who consider such reforms as half-measures. Its aim, they maintain, is only to pacify the labouring classes by means of palliatives and thus draw them away from real Socialism. Real Socialism is revolutionary in its tendencies in so far as it strives for a radical change of the existing social system, whilst State Socialism is conservative. The theories of the Fabian Society (q.v.), which are in favour of State intervention, may be described as State Socialism. Cf. E. de Laveleye, *The Socialism of To-day*; K. Diehl, *Ueber Sozialismus und Kommunismus*; R. Ely, *German and French Socialism.*

Strike, a collective and systematic cessation of work with a view to obtaining an increase of wages and generally better conditions from the employer. Strikes, which have been compared to wars, on account of the disastrous results they produce, are sometimes necessary in the interests of the workers. The conflicts between worker and employer are prevented or adjusted by arbitration and conciliation.

Although a strike is usually the result of a request for an increase of wages which has been refused by the employers, the causes of strikes are often of a political nature. Thus, for instance, the famous strike of Carmaux (France) which took place in 1897 had a political purpose. The great strikes which were arranged in Russia in 1905 and during the European War were also of a political nature.

Socialists do not always appreciate strikes. They consider, and rightly too, that strikes are often two-edged swords. They are sometimes inevitable, but only rarely lead to a satisfactory issue. More often it is the workman who is the victim of the strike rather than the employer. In Great Britain, where workmen are excellently equipped for strikes, and where in recent years, especially since the accession to power of a Labour Government, strikes have

multiplied in number, the results obtained have been meagre. Socialist leaders in many countries, therefore, advise arbitration rather than strikes in case of conflicts between workmen and employers. Revolutionary Socialists however, are in favour of general strikes, which they consider as a first step towards the social revolution they so ardently hope for.

Strikes, General. Some Socialists, especially those of the evolutionary school, are opposed even to general strikes. The idea, they maintain, emanates from Anarchists who invented it in opposition to Socialism. It is by an access to political power, and not by means of general strikes, that Socialism will ultimately triumph and the proletariat be emancipated.

Stuttgart, Socialist Congress of. This Congress took place in October 1898 under rather interesting circumstances. A great animosity was reigning in Government spheres against Socialism, and the Kaiser had declared in a speech that the organizers of strikes ought to be mercilessly prosecuted. The Socialists were accused of crimes committed by the partisans of *direct action* (q.v.).

Liebknecht, who opened the Congress of Stuttgart, protested against this accusation and the endeavour to confuse Socialists with Anarchists.

Surplus Value. Surplus value has been defined by Marx as "congealed labour," or labour not paid for. It is the amount of work or labour furnished by the workman and not paid for by the employer, and it is this surplus work usurped by the employer which, according to Marx, constitutes the element of capital. Capital is thus accumulated overwork.

During his hours of work, the workman produces more than the equivalent of the wages he is paid. Slaves, serfs, and wage-earners have produced and still are producing surplus labour—that is, labour for which they receive no remuneration and which constitutes surplus value usurped by the capitalists.

Marx based his theory upon the teaching of the liberal economists, such as Smith and Ricardo, who had already

pointed out that the labourer never receives in money wages the full productive value of his day's work, but much less. It usually amounts to a sum which enables him only to obtain the bare necessaries of life. He produces the value of his wage in about six hours, whilst he works eight or ten. He thus produces value beyond the necessaries of life which is called *surplus value*. Marx developed this theory, and asserted that this surplus value is appropriated by capital, and it is to this fact that the accumulation of vast private fortunes is due. In his work *Capital*, he pointed out that under a capitalist, competitive régime, the wage-earner is compelled to be satisfied with the receipt not of the full value of his day's labour, but with a part of it, leaving the surplus value to the capitalist who usurps it. Under a Socialist régime, i.e. when private and competing capital will be changed into collective capital, owned by the collectivity, capitalists and wage-earners will disappear, all members of society becoming producers. The product of the nation will then be divided among all equally, in proportion to work produced, reserving, of course, a portion of it for the maintenance of public departments and all institutions run for the benefit of the collectivity. It has been pointed out by opponents of Socialism, and they have rightly quoted Soviet Russia in corroboration of their argument, that in a Socialist State there is a danger of the overseers of production and the so-called rulers taking the lion's share as provision for the maintenance of public departments, and of the remaining material wealth to be distributed among the individual producers being in consequence very small indeed. The *surplus value* will then go into the pockets of the overseers and of the rulers, as is actually happening in Russia. (Cf. Marx, *Capital.*) The Surplus-value theory had already been discussed before Marx, although not so thoroughly and exhaustively, by Hall, J. Gray, W. Thompson, Hodgskin, and Robert Owen in England. Cf. A. Menger, *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag* (but cf. Diehl, l.c., p. 343). See also Beer, *History of British Socialism.*

Sweating System, exploitation of the working-man by making him work an excessive number of hours for an inadequate wage. Sweater is thus synonymous with Exploiter, whilst the exploited is the sweated. The sweating system is now practised mostly in industries in which the work is done at home and not in a factory. The working men or women not belonging to trade unions are victims of the sweating system.

Sweden. Socialist ideas spread in Sweden in 1881 through the activity of August Palm, a tailor. In the meantime class consciousness developed among the Swedish industrial workers, and in 1885 Hjalmar Branting, as editor of *The Time,* succeeded in spreading the Socialist Propaganda. *The Time* ceased to appear in 1886 and was replaced by the *Social Democrate,* edited by Branting and afterwards by Carleson. Branting joined the Coalition Government in 1917. The Social Democratic Labour Party is the strongest party in Sweden, but in 1917 the Left elements seceded and formed the Socialist Party. The Social Democratic is affiliated with the International Socialist Bureau, whilst the Socialist Party, in favour of Dictatorship of the Proletariat joined the Third (Moscow) International.

Switzerland. The Labour Movement in Switzerland dates back to 1838, when the Grütli Union was formed. In 1888 the Social Democratic Party was formed. The Swiss Communist Party was formed in 1919, although it differs but little from the Social Democratic Party, which recognized the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, postulated Soviet form of government, withdrew from the Second and joined the Third (Moscow) International in 1919. See Jean Longuet, *Le Mouvement Socialiste International.*

Syndicalism is a term applied to the movement which repudiates the parliamentary tactics of Socialism, preferring to make use of direct action. Originally, Syndicalism only meant the organization of workmen's syndicates or corporations. Now, however, as is evident from the above definition, it is a method of the expropriation of

capitalists and is not only different from, but, to a certain extent, opposed to Socialism. Syndicalism not only recommends means different from those employed by Socialists, but also has a different aim in view. Thus Syndicalists attach little importance to political action, and limit themselves to the economic domain to carry on both their propaganda and their action. Whilst Socialists postulate the expropriation of capitalists, the abolition of private property and of all means of production by nationalizing or socializing them, that is but transforming them into property of the collectivity, Syndicalists aim at making these means of production the property of separate syndicates of workmen and not of the whole community.

The Syndicalist Movement may be said to have originated in England in 1833, during the Chartist Movement. In 1902 the French labour organization, the Confédération Générale du Travail (C.G.T.), declared itself in favour of Syndicalism and against the political action advocated by Socialism. In 1918, however, this body altered its policy and joined the Socialists. Among the foremost representatives of Revolutionary Syndicalism are Sorel, Lagardelle, Griffuelhes, Labriola, and Robert Michels. See *Guild Socialism*. Cf. G. H. D. Cole, *The World of Labour*; G. Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*; P. Louis, *Histoire du Mouvement Syndical en France* (1789–1906), 1907.

Syndicate, Red, is a term applied to professional syndicates, the members of which are followers of Socialist doctrines.

Taxation. Taxation is one of the most difficult problems of modern economic life which the Government has constantly to grapple with. In a Socialist State, it is asserted by Socialists, the problem will disappear. Out of the total product society will simply take out in advance all that is needed for public purposes, and then distribute the remainder among all the citizens, i.e. the workers. Non-Socialists, of course, point out that unless those who are entrusted with the task of estimating the amount required for public purposes and expenses of the nation are beyond

all reproach and free from selfish motives, this part may even become larger than the *surplus value* now usurped by capitalists. The expenditure of the Bolshevik Government and the personal expenses of the Soviet members of Government are quoted in corroboration of this objection. During the Capitalist period, whilst working for the realization of a collective society, Socialists are in favour of a progressive income tax. Socialists of the stamp of Henry George claimed a sole tax upon landed property. Cf. R. T. Ely, *Socialism* (p. 163).

Three Eights. This formula is sometimes employed by working-men who claim an eight-hours day for work, leaving them eight hours for sleep, and eight hours for recreation and amusement. See *Four Eights*.

Trade Unionism. Trade Unions are corporate associations in England adapted to modern society and to the new conditions of labour. Sidney and Beatrice Webb (*History of Trade Unionism*) define trade unions as "associations of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment." Trade Unionism has played an important rôle in the history of Socialism, not only on account of the fight it has waged on behalf of the workmen, but of the results it has achieved. Issued from the old guilds, trade unions had at first a constitution very similar to the old trade guilds, sharing many of the latter's ceremonies and their means of action. The majority of Socialists consider Trade Unionism as a panacea, a means to an end, the first step towards Collectivism. It bears the mark of the patchwork and piecemeal character of social reform. "Trade Unionism," writes R. Ely, "has benefited great masses of men, but it always leaves behind a wretched class of unorganized wage-earners" (*Socialism and Social Reform*). For the history of Trade Unionism see Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*.

Tric is a French term employed in the fifteenth century and applied to a cessation of work according to arrangement of working-men. It is thus synonymous with strike (q.v.).

Unemployment. The number of unemployed workers,

whom Marx called the Industrial Army of Reserve, are daily becoming more numerous.

Unemployment is due, according to Socialists, to the Capitalist mode of production and consumption. Over-production under the Capitalist régime leads to markets being overstocked, and hence to a cessation of work and to compulsory unemployment of the workers. Unemployment, Socialists maintain, will constantly increase as long as production and consumption are not controlled by the collectivity.

"There is no attempt," writes Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (loc. cit., p. 72), "to gauge capacity of consumption. There is no effort made to ascertain where the balance between supply and demand is fixed. The result is a choking of the market, depression in trade, unemployment." Unemployment will disappear only with the transformation of private into collective property and the abolition of the existing competitive régime. See *Right to Work*.

United States, Socialism in. Socialism in the United States dates back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when several Communistic experiments were made by immigrants, and communities were established on the basis of Communism. (See *Communistic Experiments*.) The National Emergency Convention was held at St. Louis in 1919, and resulted in three distinct American Socialist parties. At present there are six Socialist and Labour organizations in the United States:

1. The Socialist Labour Party, organized in 1877.
2. The Socialist Party in America, organized in 1901.
3. The Communist Party of America, founded in 1919.
4. The United Communist Party, founded in 1919.
5. The Non-partisan League, organized in 1915.
6. The Farmer Labour Party, organized in 1920.

Cf. M. Hillquist, *Socialism in America*, American Labour Year-Book (1919–20), pp. 400–434.

Utility, Theory of, is an economic doctrine according to which the value of a commodity should be measured by its utility. The diamond ought thus to be valued less than coal or water.

Utopian Socialism. Under Utopian Socialism one usually understands the Socialist doctrines preached by men who hope to renovate society by appealing to the better part of man and by introducing social reforms conceived by them. They condemn private property as unjust, and suggest various plans, the adoption of which they maintain will at once change all social institutions and make an end to all social evils.

Instead of an "organic process," the Utopians dream of a mechanical renovation. Instead of making use of political action, class war and Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the Utopian Socialists, whom Scientific Socialists call idealists and dreamers, appeal to human reason, and to man's sense of morality and justice.

Robert Owen, Cabet, Saint-Simon, and Fourier are counted among the Utopian Socialists. Cf. Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.*

Utopias are schemes of social improvement suggested by various authors, who described their convictions either in the form of novels or relations of travellers who have discovered a country where men live under special conditions different from ours. All the authors of Utopias have drawn a picture of a Communistic State. The term Utopia, derived from Thomas More's work called *Utopia*, has been applied to all radical and revolutionary plans made by numerous authors, and which are considered as *impossible* of realization. Strictly speaking, however, Utopias are only those books wherein the author describes the social system he advocates as existing in some *imaginary country.*

Among such Utopias or works containing schemes of social improvement may be mentioned the following: Plato's *Republic*; More's *Utopia* (from which the term is derived); Bacon's *New Atlantis*; Harrington's *Oceana*; Doni's *I mondi*; Campanella's *Civitas Solis*; Andrea's *Republicæ Christianopolitanæ Descriptio*; Vairasse's *Histoire des Sevarambes*; Morelly's *Code de la Nature*; Fontenelle's *La République des philosophes, ou histoire des Ajaoiens*; Restif de la Bretonne's *La Découverte Australe*;

Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie*; Bellamy's *Looking Backward*; Hertzka's *Freiland*; Morris's *News from Nowhere*. Cf. F. Kleinwächter, *Die Staatsromane*; M. Kaufmann, *Utopias*.

Value. Every article possessing utility has two values: value in use, satisfying human need for its consumption, and value in exchange, enabling the owner to obtain another article in exchange for it. Now in primitive communities, and even during the Middle Ages, where every individual or group produced all they consumed, value in use was more important than value in exchange. The modern communities, where the principal division of labour has been carried to its extreme limit and people rarely or never produce what they consume, value in exchange is the principal point to be considered. Economists have always discussed the question of value and tried to determine its cause. They saw it either in utility, scarcity, or labour. Conservative economists either accept the theory of Condillac, who taught that "the value of a commodity is based upon its utility," or the theory of Rodbertus, who maintained that economically "wealth is the result of labour alone and is produced by labour." Proudhon already proved that the system of supply and demand did not solve the question of the appreciation of value in the sense of strict justice. Labour alone, he maintained, should be the criterion by which value is measured. Karl Marx and all Socialists after him, starting from the formula of Rodbertus, maintain that labour alone is the source of value and that value must, therefore, be measured and determined by labour.

Every product is only worth as much as the labour required for its production: it is only the workman who creates the value of the commodity, and by rights he should be the only possessor of the commodity. As a unit by which value is to be determined, Socialists consider the normal time required for the production of a commodity. But already Adam Smith, Ricardo, Sir W. Petty, and John Stuart Mill had admitted that labour creates value. Only, as Kirkup points out (*History of Socialism*), they did not draw the conclusion that if labour

is the cause of value the labourer is entitled to enjoy the value he creates.

According to Marx, every commodity possesses two values, value in use and value in exchange. The value in use depends upon the utility of the object, whilst the value in exchange depends upon the price a commodity can fetch when exchanged for other commodities. And Marx adds that the common unit by which the nature of exchange is determined is to be found in the quantity of labour spent upon a given commodity.

Socialism considers the theory of value both from the critical and the positive, or constructive, points of view. On the one hand, it endeavours to prove how the exploitation of labour is effected by capital, whilst, on the other, it furnishes a plan for a new distribution of wealth on the basis of value. Cf. K. Kautsky, *K. Marx's oekonomische Lehren*; Ch. Rappoport, *Un peu d'Histoire*; Tugan-Baranowsky, *Der moderne Sozialismus und seine geschichtliche Entwickelung*; R. Flint, *Socialism*, pp. 183 ff.

Wage Fund, Theory of. This theory was first suggested by Adam Smith, who asserted that wages, like everything else, are governed by supply and demand and in the aggregate depend upon the proportion of labourers to the capital available for employing labour, this capital being denominated a wage-fund. The demand for the working-men who live by wages thus increases only in proportion to the increase of the funds destined for the payment of the working-men's wages. Other economists, like Malthus, maintained that even if the wage-fund increases, wages can rise only temporarily, because the increase of population will necessarily lead to an increase of labourers and ultimately to a decrease of wages. Cf. Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy*; A. Toynbee, *Revolution*.

Wages, Iron Law of. The Iron Law of Wages is an economic law according to which wages are continually reduced to the strict minimum required by the working-man for his maintenance. The iron law of wages was formulated by Lassalle, who applied to it the general economic law governing the prices of goods.

Lassalle, as he himself wrote, has based his law upon the teaching of Smith, Say, Ricardo, and Mill. Turgot, too, had written that in every kind of labour it must result that the wages of the labourer are limited to the exact amount necessary to keep him. According to Ricardo, wages on the average tend to press down to bare subsistence, i.e. to what is actually indispensable for the labourer to provide for the existence of himself and of his family. Whenever they fall below the level many workmen die of privations, and the demand for hands results in an increase of wages. If wages exceed the level, the number of labourers also increases, and this again leads to a fall in wages.

Under existing circumstances, that is under the laws of supply and demand for labour, wages are subject to an iron law. The average wage is always reduced to the necessary provision which, according to the customary standard of living, is required by the workman for his subsistence and the propagation of his family.

In a capitalist and competitive society the labourer will, therefore, always be doomed to lead a life of mere existence, wages never rising higher than the sum which will just support him. Lassalle, therefore, asserted that only by abolishing the present competitive and capitalist system can the lot of the labourer be bettered.

The iron law of wages was already believed in by the English Communist, Thomas Hodgskin (q.v.), who maintained that "a labourer never received more than a subsistence wage, and that wages always have the tendency to rise or fall to this subsistence level." (Th. Hodgskin, *Labour Defended.*)

Lassalle's theories were criticized by other Socialists. The wage-fund theory is now recognized as false even by bourgeois economists. The theory of the iron law of wages was, however, referred to in the Programme of Gotha (1875), where it was decided to break this law by abolishing wage-labour. Marx criticized the theory severely; and at the Congress of Halle (1890) it was recognized as unscientific.

Socialists now maintain that Lassalle's *Iron Law* is based

upon false premises. Wages do not oscillate round their normal value, and the requirements of the working-man for his sustenance. On the contrary, wages are constantly being lowered and fall below their normal value, subject to the fluctuation of supply and demand, and to the tendency of a capitalist system to buy commodities, including labour-force, as cheaply as possible. Labour force is now merely a commodity sold in the market, and capitalists have the power of cutting down the price, leaving to the working-man less than a bare subsistence. In order to make ends meet and have sufficient for himself and for his family, the working-man must constantly have recourse to charity or to the dole. Only by introducing a system of collective property will the labourer become a producer and receive the full produce of his work. Cf. E. de Laveleye, *The Socialism of To-Day*; R. Ely, *German and French Socialism*; W. H. Dawson, *German Socialism and F. Lassalle.*

Wages, Sliding Scale of. It is the theory according to which wages are determined by the sale price of the commodity, which is the result of a convention agreed upon by employers and working-men. The wages automatically increase as the sale price increases, and diminish when prices fall.

Wealth, Distribution of, the manner in which wealth is distributed among different members of society. The conservative economists maintain that the present distribution of wealth is a just one, whilst Socialists endeavour to prove that it is based upon exploitation and theft. See *Distribution of Wealth.*

Wealth, Redistribution of. Socialists never assert that a periodical redistribution of wealth will take place in a Collectivist or Socialistic State. Socialism does not postulate either a division of property or a redistribution at periodic intervals. It does not even tend to abolish private property (q.v.) or inheritances (q.v.). It merely tends to make all means of production collective, and thus prevent the use of such means of production as a private source of income.

Weavers, Revolt of, an insurrection which occurred in 1844 in the industrial region of Silesia, and was caused by extreme misery. It was, of course, stimulated by communist and revolutionary agitators. This insurrection furnished Gerhardt Hauptmann with the theme of his famous social drama, *The Weavers*.

Woman. The question of the social rôle of woman has been treated in all Socialist systems. John Stuart Mill, Babeuf, Blanqui, Fourier, Saint-Simon, and all modern Socialists have discussed the question of the emancipation of woman and decided in favour of her equality with man. Communism, in its endeavour to abolish altogether the institution of family, places woman on an absolutely equal footing with man. Blanqui and Babeuf, however, although they claim for woman social equality with man, are in favour of excluding her from public life. Fourier does not admit the psychological identity of the two sexes, but nevertheless claims for woman an absolute social equality with man.

Saint-Simon proclaimed the moral and social equality of the two sexes. He criticized Christianity, which, liberating woman from slavery, had nevertheless condemned her to a state of inferiority, religious, political, and social.

Robert Owen saw in the " three institutions of Religion, Property, and Marriage a trinity of wickedness."

Whilst, however, Socialism recognizes the equality of both sexes, it takes but little interest in the details of the woman-question as it exists under the Capitalist system of society. The admission of women to all professions, for instance, is but rarely postulated in the Socialist programmes. With the abolition of the present economic system, Socialists maintain, the complaints of woman against masculine injustice will cease as if by magic. Private property, and, according to some Socialists, the institution of marriage, are at the basis of the wrongs of women. Cf. W. Weitling, *Garantieen der Harmonie und Freiheit ;* F. Engels, *Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentum's und des Staates* ; and especially, Bebel, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus.*

Work, Right to, is the right belonging to every man, to be allowed by his fellow-men to employ his activity usefully. The right to work is sacred, and it is the duty of the State to facilitate its exercise. See *Right to Work.*

PART II

WHO'S WHO IN SOCIALISM

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Abraham, William, British Socialist, born in 1842, known in Wales as "Mabon." Being a miner, he was appointed the miners' agent in 1873 to represent them in their affairs with their employers. In 1885 Abraham was returned to the House of Commons for the Rhondda Valley. He was ex-President of the Miners' Federation of Southern Wales. He was made a Privy-Councillor in 1911, and died on May 13, 1922.

Adams, Francis, Socialist writer, born in Malta in 1862, died September 4, 1893. He went to Australia in 1884 and took part in the Labour Movement. In 1887 appeared his *Songs of the Army of the Night.* He returned to England in 1890 and contributed articles on Labour, and in the interests of the labouring classes, to the *Fortnightly* and other reviews.

Adderley, Rev. James Granville, born in 1861. Educated at Oxford, he was the first Head of Oxford House in East London. He was subsequently curate or vicar in the parishes of Barking, Plaistow, Mayfair, and Marylebone, Saltley and Birmingham. He is on the Council of the Christian Social Union. His works include: *Stephen Remarx* (1893); *The New Floreat* (1895); *Christ and Social Reform, Looking Upwards* (1896); *Francis of Assisi* (1901); *A New Earth* (1903); *Behold the Days Come* (1907); *In Slums and Society* (1916); *Behold We Live* (1918); *Old Seed on New Ground* (1920).

Adler, Felix, German Socialist and leader of the Society for Ethical Culture, born at Alzey, Germany, 1851. From 1874–76 he was Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature at Cornell. In 1876 he founded the Society for

Ethical Culture in New York City, and in 1879, under the name of the Working Man's School, the Ethical Culture School. In 1902 Adler became Professor of Social and Political Ethics at Columbia University.

Although not a Socialist in the strict sense of the word, he is a partisan of Democracy and voluntary Collectivism. Dr. Adler believes that the right democratic spirit will be attained when the relations of equals, between those in the higher ranks and those in the lower ranks of life, will have been adjusted on an ethical basis. His works include : *Greed and Deed* ; *Moral Instruction for Children* ; *Life and Destiny* ; *The Religion of Duty* ; and *The Essentials of Spirituality.*

Adler, Georg, German author and economist, born in 1863, died in 1908. Adler belonged to the group of German Socialists known as the Socialists of the Chair. Professor of Sociology at Basel, he was afterwards Professor at Freiburg and at Kiel. His works include : *Karl Marxsche Kritik* ; *Die Sozial-Reform im Altertum* ; *Geschichte des Sozialismus und Kommunismus* ; *Stirner's Anarchist* ; *Hauptwerke der Sozialpolitik.*

Adler, Victor, Austrian Socialist leader, born in 1852, died in 1918. Educated at Vienna, he wrote on factory inspection in England. He founded a Social Democratic journal, and was editor of *Die Arbeiter Zeitung.* He was a member of the Imperial Council in 1907.

Aladyin, Alexis, Russian revolutionary and member of the first Duma, born in 1873. The son of very poor peasants, he worked in the field, whilst attending the local schools. He then went to Kazan, but after three years in the University was expelled for his speeches. He tried to organize trade unions among the workmen, was arrested but liberated on bail. Learning that he would be sentenced to four years' solitary confinement and eight years' exile, he crossed the frontier and went to Brussels, and subsequently to Paris and London, where he lectured for some time in Toynbee Hall. After the Manifesto of October 17, 1905, Aladyin returned to Russia.

Elected a member of the Duma by the peasants, he at

once formed the peasant and labour deputies into a party and became the leader.

Albert, Alexandre Martindit, French Socialist, born in 1815, died in 1895. He took part in the February Revolution of 1848, and became member of the Provisional Government, where he called himself " Albert Ouvrier."

Albrecht, German Communist, called the Prophet. Imprisoned for six years, he escaped to Switzerland, where he preached Bible Communism. His works include : *Die Wiederherstellung des Reiches Zion* ; and *Das Baldige Wiedersehen am Altar der Freiheit.*

Alden, Percy, British author and member of Parliament, born in Oxford in 1865. He was Warden of the Mansfield House University Settlement from 1891–1901, and upon his retirement remained honorary warden. Councillor of the borough of West Ham from 1892–1901, he was deputy mayor in 1898. He lectured in the United States, New Zealand, and Australia on social and labour problems, and entered the House of Commons in 1903. He is a member of the Fabian Society. His works include : *The Unemployed* ; *A National Question* ; *The Unemployable* ; *Democratic England.*

Allemane, Jean, French Socialist, born at Sauveterre (Haute Garonne) in 1843. A compositor by profession, he founded the Co-operative Printing Association. He was arrested in 1871 as a Communist and condemned to eight years' imprisonment, but was released in 1880. He was editor of the *Parti Ouvrier* and contributed to the *Humanité.* He was a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and a leader of French Socialists. His works include : *Le Programme du Parti* ; *Le Socialisme en France* ; and *Mémoires d'un Communard.*

Allen, William, Labour organizer, born in Ulster, 1813, died in 1874. He became a piecer in a cotton factory in Glasgow, was afterwards apprenticed to an engineer, and in 1835 became a journeyman engineer at Liverpool. General Secretary of his union in 1847, he was re-elected for more than twenty years. Allen was the organizer of the new unionism.

Amouroux, Charles, French Socialist, born in 1843, died in 1885. He took part in the rising of the Commune, was arrested but liberated in 1880. In 1885 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies.

Anseele, Edouard, Belgian Socialist, born in Ghent in 1856. The son of a shoemaker, he studied at the Royal Athenæum of Ghent, worked as a notary, and then as a typewriter. In 1789 he founded the first Socialist Co-operative Club, the *Vooruit.* This was the beginning of the great Socialist Co-operative Movement in Belgium. Anseele also edited the *Vooruit* and was the Treasurer of the International Socialist Committee. He was elected a deputy from Liège in 1894 and in 1898, and from Ghent in 1900.

Applegarth, Robert, Manufacturer, born at Hull, England, in 1833. An ardent Trade Unionist, he was a representative of the Labour Movement in the political world. As a member of the Sheffield Carpenters' Union he induced it to unite with the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in 1861. From 1862–71 he was General Secretary of this organization. Invited to stand as a candidate for Parliament at Maidstone, he retired in favour of Sir John Lubbock. In 1871 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on the Contagious Diseases Act.

Argyriades, Panagiotes, French lawyer and Socialist, born in Pastoria, Macedonia, in 1832, died in 1901. He practised in Paris, and was at the same time a militant propagandist of Socialism. He founded *La Question Sociale* and *l'Almanach de la Question Sociale.*

Auer, Ignaz, German Social Democrat, born at Dommelstadt in 1846. A saddle-maker by profession, he interested himself in the Socialist ideas, and from 1871 to 1877 was Secretary of the Social Democratic Party in Hamburg. From 1877–78 he edited the *Berliner Freie Presse* and subsequently the *Hamburger Gerichtszeitung.* A member of the Reichstag for Auerbach in 1878, he was returned in 1880, 1884 and 1890. He died in 1907.

Aveling, Edward, leading Socialist and exponent of

Marx's theories in England, born in 1852, died in 1898. Educated at University College in London, he became the assistant of Professor Michael Foster at Cambridge and subsequently Professor of Chemistry and Physiology at New College. Aveling was an atheist, and was elected Vice-president of the National Secular Society. He married Karl Marx's daughter, Eleanor. His works include: *Student's Marx*; *Student's Darwin*; *Botany for Students*; *Geology for Students*; *Physics*; *Biology*. With S. Moore he translated Marx's *Kapital*.

Avral, Augustin, French Socialist, born in 1840, died in 1904. He became a member of the International and took part in the Commune. He escaped to Alsace, but was expelled by the Prussian Government.

Babeuf, François Noel (called Caius Gracchus), French Socialist and agitator, born at Saint Quentin, 1764, guillotined in 1797. A violent revolutionist, he edited a paper called *Le Tribun du Peuple*, advocated most democratic principles and attacked the Terrorists, contributing powerfully to the fall of Robespierre. In 1795 he founded the Société du Panthéon, which became the Société des Égaux in 1796. The *Manifeste des Égaux* appeared soon afterwards. Having planned a general rising, Babeuf was accused of conspiracy against the Directoral government, condemned to death and guillotined. Babeuf's Communism may be summed up as follows: (1) Nature has granted to every man the equal right to enjoy all her goods. (2) The goal of society is to defend this equal right, frequently attacked and usurped by the strong and the wicked, and to increase, with the help of all, the common enjoyment. (3) Nature has imposed upon everybody the obligation to work, and it is a crime for anyone to shift this duty. (4) Work and enjoyment ought to be common and equal. (5) It is an abuse and an oppression if one is exhausted by work and yet lacks every comfort, whilst another is living in luxury and idleness. (6) It is a crime for anyone to appropriate for himself the land or the industries. Those who have done so could not have achieved their aim without committing a crime. (7) There ought to be neither

rich nor poor in the community. (8) The rich who refuse to renounce their privileges in favour of the poor are enemies of the people. (9) Education ought to be general and accessible to all; no one has a right to deprive his neighbour of the means of education, which is necessary for his happiness. (10) The aim of the Revolution is to abolish inequality and to establish the happiness of all. Babeuf's doctrines were in so far different from those of Owen (q.v.) that the former always neglected the philosophical side of the social question, and, being a man of action and a revolutionary, aimed at the establishment of a régime of equality in the place of the individualistic system consecrated by the French Revolution. In order to realize his ideas, Babeuf and his followers had decided to seize the power and establish a dictatorship; to abolish individual property and to introduce compulsory work for all.

Bakunin, Mikhail, Russian Anarchist, born at Torshok in 1814, died in Bern, 1876. A descendant of a noble family, he was educated for the military service, and became an artillery officer. In 1835 he went to Moscow to study philosophy, and in 1841 left for Berlin. He became acquainted with Arnold Ruge, who led him to be a Communist. In 1843 he was in Paris, where he became acquainted with Proudhon and the latter's ideas. In 1847, after a violent speech to the Russians and Poles, urging them to unite against the Russian Government, he was expelled from Paris at the request of the Russian authorities. He appeared at Berlin after the Revolution of 1848, then went to the Pan-Slav Congress at Prague. In May 1849 he appeared as one of the leaders of the insurrection at Dresden, after which he became a member of the Revolutionary government. In 1850 he was sentenced to death at Chemnitz by the Saxon government, but was handed over to the Austrian authorities, by whom he was again condemned to death. Claimed by Russia, he was for a third time condemned to death, but was pardoned by the Tsar and transported to Siberia.

In 1860 he escaped on an American ship to Japan, went to the United States, and came to London, where he

found the Socialistic Movement in great progress under the influence of Marx and Engels. He joined the International, but became the leader of the Anarchist wing against Marx. In 1869 he founded the Social Democratic Alliance with a view to making land and capital the collective property of society, and establishing a universal union of free associations. Bakunin's thirst for liberty, his abhorrence of slavery, of thraldom and of shackles, made him attack every authority in the world, Divine or human. He was the apostle of Anarchism, and believed that the result of the coming social and political revolution will be the perfect liberty of man. See *International, The*; *Marx.* Cf. M. Nettlau, *The Life of Bakunin.*

Ball, John, English priest and revolutionary, born in 1338, died in 1381. He was one of the chief supporters of Wat Tyler in his Rebellion, but after Wat Tyler's death he was caught at Coventry and hanged.

Ballance, Hon. John, New Zealand politician, born in 1839, died in 1893. Elected to Parliament in 1875, he became Prime Minister in 1891, and inaugurated an era of reforms in the interests of Labour.

Barbès, Armand, French revolutionary, born at Pointe-à-Pitre in 1809, died at The Hague in 1870. After being imprisoned several times, he was sentenced to death in 1839 for the attempt to overthrow Louis Philippe, but was pardoned. In 1848 he was a member of the Constituent Assembly, but soon after was sentenced to imprisonment for life for participating in the insurrection against the Assembly. He was set free by Napoleon III in 1854, and left the country. While in prison under Louis Philippe, he wrote *Two Days under Condemnation of Death.* Cf. La Bruyère, *Le procès Armand Barbès.*

Basly, Emile Joseph, French Socialist, born in 1854. Originally a miner, he became general secretary of the Syndicat des Mineurs du Pas-de-Calais. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1885, and was a delegate to the International Labour Congress in 1889. He was elected Mayor of Lens in 1900.

Baudet, Dulary, a disciple of Fourier, born in 1791, died

in 1878. He wrote *La Crise Sociale: Essai sur les harmonies physiologiques*, etc., etc.

Bauer, Stephen, Austrian Socialist, born in 1865. He was appointed Professor of Political Economy at the University of Basel in 1899, and in the same year Secretary of the International Labour Bureau. His works include: *Wages and Labour Policy in Australasia*; *Night Work for Women*, and *Dangerous Trades*.

Bäumeler, Joseph, born in 1778, died in 1853. In 1818 he founded the Communistic colony of *Zoar*, which prospered considerably, thanks to his organizing ability.

Bax, Ernest Belfort, English Socialist and writer, born at Leamington in 1854. Educated in London and Germany, he studied music, and afterwards philosophy. In 1880 he was correspondent of English papers (in Berlin), but in 1881 returned to England and threw himself into the Socialist Movement. In conjunction with William Morris he founded the Socialist League, and for some time edited, with Morris, the journal *The Commonweal*. Later on he became editor of *Justice*, the party organ of the Social Democratic Federation, and was sent as delegate to several international congresses. He also edited the Socialist monthlies, *Time* and *To-day*. His works include: *Jean-Paul Marat* (1878); *Handbook to the History of Philosophy* (1884); *Religion of Socialism* (1886); *French Revolution* (1890); *The Problem of Reality* (1893); *Socialism: Its Growth and Outcome* (with William Morris) (1894); *Essays in Socialism, New and Old* (1906); *The Roots of Reality* (1907); *The Last Episode of the French Revolution* (1911); *Problems of Man, Mind, and Morals* (1912); *Reminiscences and Reflections* (1918).

Bazard, Armand, French Socialist, born in Paris, September 19, 1791, died at Cortry, July 9, 1832. He served in the National Guards, and in 1816 won the Cross of the Legion of Honour. He founded the Republican Society, Amis de la Vérité, and in 1820 organized, in conjunction with Buchez, the French association of Carbonarists, in imitation of the Italian Carbonari, against Louis XVIII and the Restoration. A few years later Bazard became a

follower of Saint-Simon, and soon was chosen leader of the society. Bazard maintained that the French Revolution had not kept its promises. The bourgeoisie had been victorious, but the masses, the people, were even poorer than they had been before and more oppressed. Political equality had been gained, but not social. Individual property stood in direct opposition to equality of all men. He hoped to find a solution to his questions in the system of Saint-Simon. A split soon occurred between Bazard and Enfantin on the question of the emancipation of woman, and Bazard separated himself from the old school and lived in retirement until his death. His principal work is *Exposition de la doctrine de Saint-Simon.*

Bebel, Ferdinand August, German Socialist, born at Strasbourg, February 22, 1840, died in 1913. Although a master turner, he ardently took interest in politics. In 1871 he was elected a member of the Reichstag. In 1872 he was condemned to two years in a fortress and six months in prison for insulting the Kaiser. Bebel opposed the leadership of Prussia in Germany, and was very favourably disposed to the Commune and the International. He was the leader of the Social Democratic Party in Germany and also in the German Parliament, where he violently protested against militarism and the Emperor's naval policy. Republicanism, Socialism, and Atheism summarize Bebel's views and ideals. His works include: *Unsere Ziele*; *Christentum und Sozialismus*; *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (*Woman and Socialism*); *Die Socialdemocratic und das allgemeine Wahlrecht*; *Für Volkwehr gegen Militarismus*; *Aus meinen Leben*, etc.

Beck, Karl Joseph, Swiss Christian Socialist, born in 1858. He was Professor of Theology at the Theological Seminary, Lucerne, from 1888-91, and subsequently Professor of Theology at Freiburg. He edited the *Monatsschrift für Christliche Sozial-reform.*

Becker, August, German journalist and Socialist, born in 1810, died in 1875. A member of the Hessian Legislature, he afterwards went to America, where he died. He con-

tributed to the *Vorwärts*, and in 1848 edited the organ *Der jüngste Tag*, in Giessen.

Beitzel, Conrad, founder of the Communistic community of Aphrata in Pennsylvania, in 1783. Celibacy and Communism were the guiding principles of the community.

Bellamy, Edward, American Socialist, or rather Nationalist (see *Socialization*, Part I of this Dictionary), born in 1850, died in 1898. Admitted to the Bar in 1871, he entered journalism. In 1888, after the publication of his famous work *Looking Backward*, he became very active in the Nationalist movement. His works include, besides the novels *The Blind Man's World* and *Miss Ludington's Sister*, *Looking Backward* (1888) and *Equality* (1897).

Bellers, John, British Communist and Quaker, born in 1654, died 1725. He proposed the creation of communities on a Communistic basis as a means against pauperism.

Berger, Victor S., American Socialist, born at Nieder-Rehbuck, Austria-Hungary, in 1860. Educated in Budapest and in Vienna, he went to America, where he worked as a metal polisher, but later became a public-school teacher. He soon became a prominent member of the Social Democratic Party, and was leader of the Liberals. He edited the Milwaukee daily *Vorwärts*, and was the author of *Socialism, What it is and what it is not* (1900) ; *The Trust Question* (1900) ; and *Municipal Socialism* (1902).

Bernard, Martin, French revolutionary and Socialist, born in 1808, died in 1883. He was the son of a printer, and took part in the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848. Arrested and condemned to deportation, he escaped to England, where he remained till 1859. In 1871 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies.

Bernstein, Eduard, leader of the Revisionists, German Social Democrat, born in Berlin, January 6, 1850. Son of an engine-driver, he is a member of the Social Democratic Party, and was editor of the *Socialdemocrat*, the organ of this party, from 1881-90. His attacks on Bismarck resulted in his being expelled from Germany in 1888. He went to London, where he remained till 1901. On his return to Berlin, he was elected a member of the Reichstag

in 1902, re-elected in 1903 and in 1912. He participated in the Revolution of 1918. In his great work, *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie* (1899), he inaugurated the so-called Revisionist Socialism (q.v.). Bernstein's great opponent is Kautsky. His other works include: *Gesellschaftliches und Privateigentum* (1891); *Die Kommunistischen und demokratisch socialistischen Bewegungen in England während des 17 Jahrhunderts* (1895), *Zur Geschichte und Theorie des Sozialismus* (1900); *Die Arbeiterbewegung* (1910), etc.

Bertrand, Louis, Belgian Socialist, born in 1856. He founded the Chambre du Travail at Brussels, and in 1878 became the editor of the *Voix du Travailleur.* Among his works are *Essai sur le salaire*; *Socialisme Communal.*

Besant, Annie, British Theosophist and Socialist, born October 1, 1847. She joined the Socialist Movement in 1886, and in conjunction with Herbert Burrows organized the matchgirls working in the factories of Bryant and May. She is the pioneer of the *New Unionism.*

Beslay, Charles, French Socialist, born at Dinan in 1795, died in Switzerland in 1878. Interested in social questions, he became an ardent Socialist and a member of the International. He was a follower of Proudhon, took part in the Commune, but as he did not agree with his colleagues, he resigned. He wrote: *Mes Souvenirs* (1873), and *La Vérité sur la Commune* (1877).

Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis, French historian and Communist, born at Madrid, October 29, 1811, died December 6, 1882, at Cannes, and was buried in Paris. He was educated at Rhodez and Paris. His grandfather was guillotined in 1793, and the Revolution of 1830 ruined his family, so that Louis Blanc became familiar very early in his life with human suffering. In 1837 he became editor-in-chief of the *Bon Sens,* and in 1839 he founded the *Revue du Progrès,* in which he published his ideas under the title, *Organization du Travail* (1839-40). Between 1841 and 1844 he published his *Histoire de dix ans* (1830-40). During the February Revolution of 1848, Blanc was elected a member of the Provisional Government. The Atéliers

Nationaux, which he had at first advocated, were established by the Provisional Government, but finding that they were not successful, Blanc demanded their abolition. After the June insurrection of 1848 he was accused of conspiracy and, refusing to benefit by the amnesty, he left Paris and went to England. In 1870 he returned to Paris, and in 1871 was elected to the National Assembly.

The theoretical principles of his Socialistic doctrines Blanc developed in his *Historical Revelations* (1858), in which he maintains that it is the duty of everyone to produce according to his capacity. It is in this sense that he interprets the words of Christ: "Let the first among you be the servant of all." But it is, on the other hand, the right of everyone to obtain from society the means necessary to satisfy his requirements, especially moral and spiritual, for the purpose of developing his capacities. Blanc's other works include: *La Révolution de Février au Luxembourg*, (1848); *Le Socialisme, Droit au Travail* (1849); *Catechisme des Socialistes* (1849); *Histoire de la Révolution Française* (1847-62); *Histoire de la Révolution de* 1848 (1870); *Ce qu'étaient autrefois les confréries ouvrières* (1873); *Histoire de la Constitution du* 25 *Février* (1875, 1882); *Dix ans de l'Histoire de l'Angleterre* (1879-81).

Bland, Hubert, English Socialist and author, born at Woolwich in 1856, died in 1914. Destined for the army, he turned to finance and became manager of a foreign bank in London. In 1886 he took to journalism, devoting his activities to art and literary criticism. Bland was one of the founders of the Fabian Society. He contributed to the *London Chronicle*, the *Observer* and the *Saturday Review*.

Blanqui, Louis Auguste, French Socialist and revolutionary, born at Nice, February 7, 1805, died at Paris, January 1, 1881. He passed over forty years of his life in prison for various conspiracies, and for ardently fighting for the proletariat. Blanqui was at once a mystic and a fanatic, revolutionary and autocratic, and his theories may be summed up in the words: Liberty, Laicality, and Education. Blanqui considered a social revolution and the

conquest of political power by a minority as the best means of realizing Communism. He founded a club and a journal, *La Patrie en danger*, in 1870. His writings were collected under the title of *Critique Sociale* in 1885.

Blatchford, Robert P., British Socialist, born in 1851. At the age of thirteen he was apprenticed to a trade, and from 1871-77 served in the army. He began writing in 1881, contributing to *Bell's Life* and the *Sunday Chronicle* under the pseudonym of "Nunquam." In 1892 he founded the *Clarion*, where he published a series of letters on Socialism, under the title *Merrie England*. He was the originator of the Fourth Clause, and laid the foundations of the Independent Labour Party. His works include: *God and My Neighbour* (1903); *Not Guilty, a Plea for the Bottom Dog* (1905).

Blind, Karl, German revolutionist, born in 1826, died in 1907. He took part in the Revolution of 1848, and afterwards came to England, where he settled. He was a supporter of *National Socialism*, as opposed to international Socialism. His works include *The Teutonic Tree of Existence*, etc.

Bliss, William Dwight Porter, American Christian Socialist, born in Turkey, where his father was a missionary, in 1856. He was one of the founders of the Society of Christian Socialists, and his works include *Handbook of Socialism*. He also edited *The Dawn*; *Social Science Series*; and *Encyclopædia of Social Reform*.

Boissel, François, French Socialist and revolutionary, born in 1727, died in 1807. He is famous as the author of a work entitled *Catéchisme du Genre humain* (1789), wherein he expressed Socialistic and Communistic ideas. Private property, marriage, and religion are, according to the author, at the root of our antisocial order.

Bonifacio, Giovanni, Italian Communist, born in 1547, died in 1635. He published *La Republica della api*, wherein he endeavoured to prove that Communism is the best form of government, and asserted that men ought to imitate the bees in sociability.

Bouglé, Celestin, French Socialist. Educated at the École

Normale Supérieure, he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at Saint Brieuc in 1894. He obtained the degree of Doctor-es-Lettres in 1899, was Professor at Montpellier and at Toulouse, and subsequently at the Faculty of Letters in Paris. In 1924 he presented himself as a Socialist candidate at the General Election. His works include: *Les Idées Égalitaires* (1900); *La Démocratie devant la Science* (1904); *Le Solidarisme* (1907); *Le Progrès des Castes en Inde* (1907); *L'Éducateur laïque* (1921). He has also contributed articles to numerous Reviews on Sociology, Socialism, and Democracy.

Bracke, Alexandre Marie, French Socialist, born in 1861, at Lille. Educated at Lille and at the École Normale Supérieure, he was a member of the École Française at Rome. He entered the Chamber of Deputies in 1912, and was again re-elected in 1914 and in 1919. He is a member of the parliamentary group of French Socialists. He contributed to the *Humanité* and to other Socialist papers. His works include: Editions of the works of Herodotus and Sophocles, Socialist pamphlets, and the translation of the works of Nietzsche.

Branting, Karl Hjalmar, Swedish Socialist leader and statesman, born in 1860. Educated at Stockholm and Upsala, he early began to interest himself in Socialism and contributed articles to Social Democratic papers. Editor of the *Tiden* and of the *Social Democraten*, he became the leader of Swedish Socialism. In 1917 he became a member of the Swedish Coalition Cabinet, and in 1920 formed the first Socialist Government in Sweden.

Braun, Lily, German Socialist and an exponent of Marxian Socialism. Born in 1865, she married Professor G. V. Gizycki. She joined the Socialist Movement and became a prominent leader, propagating Marxian doctrines. She wrote *Memoiren einer Sozialistin* (1900).

Bray, J. F., British Communist, of early 19th century. He wrote: *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy, or The Age of Might and the Age of Right* (1839), a book referred to by Marx in his *Misery of Philosophy* (1847), and still one of the best books in Socialistic literature.

Briand, Aristide, French statesman, born at Nantes in 1862. He studied law, but entered journalism and was active in the domain of politics. For many years Briand was a Socialist, contributing to the *Lanterne*, the *Petite République*, and the *Humanité*. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1902 as a Radical Socialist. Minister of Public Instruction in 1906, he became Premier in 1909. He was Minister of Justice in 1914, and once more Premier in 1915. As his views became more conservative, he was expelled from the Socialist Party.

Brisbane, Arthur, American Fourierist, born in 1809, died in 1890. He studied in Paris the philosophy of Fourier, and expounded it to the American public in two books: *Social Destiny of Man* (1840), and *A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association*. Brisbane's works stimulated the foundation of Brook Farm, which adopted Fourier's doctrines. He contributed to the *Tribune*, and wrote the *Sociological Series* (1876).

Brissac, Henri, French Socialist, born in 1833, died in 1906. He joined the Socialist Movement immediately on the formation of the International, and was a member of the Commune. He was condemned to deportation, but returned to France in 1880. His works include: *La Société collectiviste*, and *Résumé populaire du Socialisme*.

Brissot, Jean Pierre, also called Brissot de Warville, a French Socialist and Revolutionist, born in 1754, executed October 31, 1793. He took great part in the Revolution, and was one of the leaders of the Girondists. When the Montagnards were victorious over the Girondists, in 1793, Brissot followed the destiny of many of his party and was guillotined. His principal work is his *Recherches philosophiques sur la propriété et sur le vol*, wherein he developed the idea that exclusive individual possession and property are against the laws of nature. And just as the requirements of humanity are indestructible, so are the rights of all human beings to the possession and enjoyment of all the goods on this earth (*La propriété exclusive est un vol*).

Brousse, Paul, French Socialist, born at Montpellier in 1854. He studied medicine, contributed to the *Droits*

de l'Homme, was condemned to prison in 1871, but escaped to Spain and thence to Switzerland, where he met Bakunin. He became an Anarchist, but in 1879 he came to London, met Marx and Engels, and turned Socialist. Returning to France in 1880, he edited the *Égalité* and *Prolétaire*. He also wrote *La Propriété collective et les Services publics*.

Buchez, Philippe Joseph Benjamin, French Communist and social philosopher, born in 1796, died in 1865. Studying medicine, he became a physician in 1825. He was interested in the founding of the Carbonari Society, was arrested and released. Joining the Saint-Simonians, he contributed to the *Producteur*, a paper advocating Saint-Simonism. When Saint-Simonism, under the influence of Enfantin, assumed a religious form, Buchez withdrew and founded *L'Européen*, wherein he exposed his Communistic ideas. He preached industrial Communism, the association of labour, and abolition of private property in land, but his Communism was practically what was afterwards known as *Christian Socialism* (q.v. Part I). Buchez laid stress upon moral development and religion, and maintained that his Communism, being in accord with religion, would realize the social principles of Christianity. He followed Louis Blanc in the Revolution of 1848, and was a member of the Constituent Assembly, of which he became President. His works include: *L'Histoire Parlémentaire de la Révolution Française*, jointly with Roux and Lavigne (40 vols, 1833-38); *Essai d'un Traité complet de Philosophie* (1830-40); *Traité de Politique de Science Sociale* (1866).

Büchner, George, German Socialist, born in 1813, died in 1837. He studied medicine and natural science, became a member of the Revolutionary party, and gained the conviction that a political without a social revolution was impossible. He was the author of an appeal to the peasants, entitled *Der Hessische Landbote*, which begins with the words: "Peace to the cottages, war to the palaces." "It seems as if God Almighty had created the peasants and working-men on the fifth day, and the wealthy and nobles on the sixth, enjoining them to rule over all the animals."

Büchner preached class war and postulated a just distribution of wealth.

Buonarotti, Filippo Michel, a revolutionist and admirer of Rousseau, born at Pisa, December 11, 1761, died 1837. Expelled from Italy for founding a journal against the government of Tuscany, he went to Corsica, where he founded the organ, *L'Ami de la liberté Italienne.* In 1792 he came to Paris, where he became known for his revolutionary sentiments and received the honorary title of Citoyen Français. He became president of the Panthéon Society, and fought for the Constitution of 1793. This society was dissolved by the Directory, and Buonarotti, accused of participation in the conspiracy of Babeuf, was condemned to deportation, but pardoned. He wrote *Conspiration de Babeuf* (1828).

Buret, Eugène, French Socialist, born at Troyes in 1811, died in 1842. The son of a poor shopkeeper, he devoted himself to study and contributed a series of articles to *l'Ouvrier Français* which attracted attention.

He postulated the right of the worker to the whole product of his labour and to the possession of the means of production. His work, *De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France* (1840), was crowned by the Académie des Sciences Morales in Paris.

Burgess, Joseph, British Socialist and Labour leader, born in 1853. As a boy he worked in a cotton mill, but in 1884 became a journalist and edited *The Oldham Operative* and *The Workman's Times.* He was one of the founders of the Independent Labour Party in 1893.

Bürkli, Karl, Swiss Socialist, born in Zurich, 1823, died in 1901. Influenced by Fourier, he adopted Socialist ideas and founded the first Konsumverein in German Switzerland. In 1851 he was elected to the Cantonal Council in Switzerland, having advocated direct legislation. He opened the Zurich International Congress, when he was 70 years of age, and delivered a speech in German, English, and French. His works include: *Demokratische Bankreform* (1881); *Direckte Gesetzgebung durch das Volk* (1889); etc.

Burns, Rt. Hon. John, British Labour leader and Socialist, born in 1858. Educated at Battersea Elementary School, he was apprenticed to various trades, became an engineer, and took an active part in Trade Unionism. A public speaker, he was several times arrested for exciting the mob, once in 1877 and once in 1886. In 1887 he was sent to prison for six weeks for speaking in Trafalgar Square. Defeated as a Socialist candidate for Parliament in 1885, he was elected to the London County Council in 1889, and in 1892 entered Parliament for Battersea, which seat he retained until 1918. He was President of the Local Government Board from 1905-14, and for a few months President of the Board of Trade, resigning when Britain joined the European War. His works include: *The Unemployed* (1893); *Municipal Socialism* (1902); *Labour and Free Trade* (1904).

Burrows, Herbert, British Socialist, born in 1845. He was one of the founders of the Social Democratic Federation, and represented the Federation at several Socialist Congresses. He was made treasurer for the Girls' Union, and secretary of the Matchmakers' Union.

Cabet, Etienne, French Communist, born at Dijon on January 2, 1788, died November 9, 1856. He received a good education, and studied law. In 1818 he went to Paris, where he collaborated in the *Journal de Jurisprudence* of Dalloz. Elected Deputy of Dijon, he declared himself an opponent of the Government of Louis Philippe, and was condemned to two years' imprisonment, but he escaped to England. Here he developed his Communistic ideas, influenced by Thomas More's *Utopia* and similar works. Availing himself of the amnesty of 1899, he returned to Paris. In 1842 appeared his famous *Voyage en Icarie*, a Communistic romance, wherein he proposed to establish Communism after a transitional period of fifty years. See *Icaria*.

Cachin, Marcel, French Socialist, born in 1869. He studied, in Paris, philosophy and literature, and obtained the degree of Licencié-ès-Lettres. He was editor of the *Populaire du Centre* at Limoges, and became editor of the *Humanité*

(founded by Jaurès) in 1918, taking the place of Renaudel. Cachin was sent to prison several times for his Communist ideas. He was re-elected to the Chamber in May 1924.

Campanella, Tommaso, Italian monk, born at Stilo in 1568, died in Paris, May 21, 1639. Entering the Order of Dominicans, he devoted himself to the study of theology and other sciences. At the age of 22 he published his first book, directed against Aristotle. He became the head of a conspiracy for the purpose of overthrowing the Spanish rule at Naples, and of establishing a Communistic Republic, but was arrested, cruelly tortured, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. After twenty-seven years of prison, Pope Urban VIII at last succeeded in delivering him from the Spanish prison, under the pretext that Campanella, having criticized the Roman Church, must come before the tribunal of Rome. But the persecutions of Spain did not cease even under the protection of the Pope, and Campanella found refuge in France in 1634, where he was well received by Richelieu. He entered the convent of Jacobins, and remained there till his death. Campanella's works include : *De Sensu Rerum et Magia* (1620) ; *Civitas Solis* (q.v.) (printed with his *Philosophia Epilogistica Realis,* 1623) ; *Atheismus Triumphatus* (1636). His complete works were edited by d'Ancona (Turin, 1854).

Carpenter, Edward, British author, poet and Socialist, born in 1844. Educated at Brighton College and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, he became a priest of the Church of England in 1870. He resigned his curacy in 1871, gave up his orders in the Church, and was a University Extension Lecturer until 1881. He visited the United States, became acquainted with Walt Whitman, and, influenced by the latter, joined the Socialist Movement. He retired to a small farm near Sheffield, where he leads the life of labour, manual and intellectual. His works include : *Towards Democracy* (1883) ; *Civilization, its Cause and Cure* (1889) ; *The Art of Creation* (1904) ; *The Promised Land* (1910) ; *Love's Coming of Age* (1911). He also wrote *My Days and Dreams* ; *Chants of Labour* ; *Towards Industrial Freedom* ; *Pagan and Christian Creeds* (1920).

Chabert, Charles Edmé, French Socialist, born in 1818. He was very active in the formation of the International, and was one of the founders of the journal *Prolétariat.*

Chase, John Calvin, Secretary of the Socialist Party of New York, born in 1870. As a youth he worked in a woollen mill, then became a shoemaker, and in 1888 entered the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. He was elected delegate to the National Convention in Boston. In 1898 he was elected Mayor of Haverhill, being the first Socialist mayor in the United States.

Chatelain, Eugène, French Socialist song writer, born in 1829, died in 1902. He fought against the Second Empire, and in 1849 founded a paper called *La Jeune République.* He was a champion of the Commune, was compelled to escape, but returned to France in 1880. His Socialist songs were published under the titles *Les Exilés de* 1871 (1886), and *Mes Dernières Nées* (1891).

Cipriani, Amilcare, Italian revolutionary Socialist, born at Rimini, October 18, 1845, died in Paris, May 2, 1918. At the early age of fourteen he had already started to fight for liberty, and remained all his life the apostle of revolution. In 1860 he took part in the Garibaldi expedition to Sicily, went to Greece, but was expelled from that country. He then went to London, where he took part in the foundation of the International (q.v.) under Mazzini, Karl Marx, and Engels. He helped in the revolution of Crete, and in 1870 went to Paris, where he took part in the Commune (q.v.). Brought to trial, he was sent to Numea, returning to Paris in 1879. Expelled from France, he returned to Italy, and was detained in prison till 1888. Released, he again came to Paris, but was soon again imprisoned for six years. In 1897 he went to Greece to fight for the liberty of Crete. The revolution was a failure, and the leader was wounded at Demokos.

Clement, J. B., French Socialist poet, born in 1837, died in 1903. He was a member of the Commune, escaped to England, but returned to France in 1880. He contributed to the *Prolétariat* and the *Socialiste.* He wrote *Chansons* (1885) and *Cent Chansons nouvelles* (1898).

Cognetti de Martiis, Salvatore, Italian Sociologist, born in 1844. He was professor at Mantua and at Turin. He is known for his works on Socialism, having studied the origin of Socialism in antiquity. His work *Socialismo antico* appeared in 1889.

Colins De, Jean Guillaume César Alexandre Hippolyte, Belgian soldier and Socialist, born in 1793, died in 1859. He was educated by a Jesuit, an old friend of his father, and in 1819 went to Havana as a physician. He returned to France in 1830, and in 1835 published his work *Le Pacte Social.* Here he advocated Collectivism, maintaining that all men were equal, moral and responsible beings. Man is, according to Colins, a responsible being endowed with an immortal soul. Colins thus believed in the immortality of the soul, but, strange to say, not in Divine existence. Man, according to the philosophy of Colins, is the sole active and free agent in the world, and his mission is to work on the soil with a view to producing. Man, however, can only be free if he is the owner of that soil. Colins, therefore, postulated a collective system of society. One of the articles of Colins's faith is thus his scheme of social reform, resulting in the collective ownership of immovable property. His Socialism has been called by his disciples Rational Socialism.

In order to realize the collective ownership of immovable property, Colins suggested the limitation of inheritance only to the direct line, and the introduction of heavy death duties. Among his disciples were Agathon de Potter and Hugentobler. Colins's works include: *Le Pacte Social* (1835); *L'Économie Politique: Source des Révolutions et des Utopies prétendues Socialistes* (1856-57, 3 vols); *Qu'est-ce que la Science Sociale?* (1853, 4 vols); *La Société nouvelle, sa necessité* (1857, 2 vols), and *Science Sociale* (1857, 6 vols).

Compere-Morel, Constant Adolphe, French Socialist and member of the Chamber of Deputies, born, 1872, at Breteuil (Oise). His works include: *Du Socialisme*; *Les Paysans et le Socialisme*; *Le Socialisme aux Champs.* He also edited the *Encyclopédie Socialiste* in 11 volumes.

Considérant, Prosper Victor, French Socialist, born on October 12, 1805, died December 27, 1893. The son of a teacher, he was sent to the École Polytechnique and entered the army as captain. He soon, however, resigned his commission, in order to devote himself to the spread of Fourier's theories. After the latter's death he became the leader of the party. In 1836 he founded the journal *La Phalange Industrielle*, and in 1843 *La Démocratie Pacifique*. He was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly in 1848, and of the Legislative Assembly on May 13, 1849. Compelled to leave France after the Insurrection, he went to England, where he met Albert Brisbane (q.v.), who enabled him to go to Texas and try a new Fourierist experiment which ultimately proved a failure. The Phalansterium he had founded under the name of La Réunion was ruined in consequence of the war then waging in South America. Considérant returned to France in 1869. He very frequently went in his demands beyond those of his master Fourier (q.v.).

Although he still hoped in the Union of Capital and Labour, and in the possible establishment of phalansteries, he at last perceived the antagonism existing between the possessing classes and the proletarians. Gradually he began to understand the idea of class war which plays such an important rôle in Marxian and Scientific Socialism.

His works include: *Destinée Sociale* (183–445, 3 vols); *Manifeste de l'École Sociétaire* (1841); *Théorie du Droit de Propriété et du droit au Travail* (1848); *Le Socialisme devant le vieux monde, ou le vivant devant les Morts* (1849); *Principes du Socialisme* (1847); *La Solution, ou le gouvernement direct du peuple* (1851); *Théorie de l'éducation naturelle et attrayante* (1845); *Description du Phalanstère et considerations sociales sur l'architectonique* (1848).

Cooper, Thomas, one of the leaders of the Chartists, born in March 1805, died in 1892. He instigated manifestations of striking workmen during the sacred month (see *Strike*) and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. In prison he wrote *The Purgatory of Suicides*, which created a sensation In 1855 he became an ardent Christian, and

went all over the country to expound his new theories. His collected poetical works appeared in 1878.

Costa, Andrea, Italian Socialist. A disciple of Bakunin, he nevertheless gave up his Anarchistic ideas and adhered to Scientific Socialism, which he was very active in spreading in Italy.

Crane, Walter, British artist and Socialist, born in 1845, died in 1915. The son of Thomas Crane, a miniature painter, he was one of the foremost English illustrators. He came under the influence of William Morris, and was looked upon as one of the leaders of British Romanticism in decorative art. Under the influence of Morris, Crane became a Socialist in 1884, lecturing, writing and designing books for Socialist propaganda and endeavouring to identify Art with Socialism. See *Art*, Part I.

Debs, Eugène Victor, American Socialist, born in 1855. From 1871 to 1874 he worked as a railway fireman, and later in the wholesale grocery trade. In 1885 he was elected to the State legislature. He was Grand Secretary of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, formed the American Railway Union, and was its President from 1893 to 1897. In 1894 Debs led the great Pullman strike. Accused of conspiracy, he was acquitted, then charged with violation of an injunction, and imprisoned without trial for six months for contempt of court. Joining the Socialists, Debs travelled and delivered lectures in the United States. In 1900 he was the Presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Party.

Delescluze, Louis Charles, French revolutionary and politician, born in 1809, died in 1871, killed on the barricades during the Commune. He founded in 1848 the paper *La Révolution démocratique et sociale*, and in 1868 the *Réveil*. He was a member of the National Assembly in 1871.

De Lion, Daniel, Socialist, born in Curaçao, Dutch West Indies, in 1852, and went to the United States in 1872.

He joined the Knights of Labour in 1888, and interested himself in Nationalism. He joined the Socialist Labour Party in 1890. In 1895 he founded the Socialist Trade and

Labour Alliance. Since that time he remained the leader of the Socialist Labour Party as opposed to the Social Democratic Party. He founded *The People* in 1892 (a weekly), and in 1900 *The Daily People.*

Denis, Hector, Belgian Socialist, born at Braine-le-Comte in April, 1842, died in 1913.

He studied law, but subsequently turned his attention to sociology and political economy, and became Professor at the University of Brussels.

His works include: *L'Organisation representative du Travail* (1885); *La Crise agricole* (1885); *L'alimentation de la force du travail* (1887).

De Paepe, César, Belgian Socialist, one of the founders of the Belgian Labour Party, born at Ostend on July 12, 1842, died at Cannes, December 19, 1890. Educated at the Jesuit College in Brussels, he worked also as a typographer in the establishment of Désirée Brismée, whose daughter he subsequently married. In 1871 he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He took an active part in the first meeting of the International in London, and was present at the Congresses of Geneva, Lausanne, and Brussels. At first a follower of the theories of Colins and of Proudhon, he soon became a partisan of modern Scientific Socialism and Collectivism. He contributed to various Socialist papers and journals, such as *De Toekmost, La Société Nouvelle, Die Zukunft,* etc. For the Fourth Congress of the International De Paepe wrote his essay, *Les Services Publics dans la Société future.* His works include: *Examen de quelques questions sociales* (1866); *The Socialist Science after Colins and De Potter* (Richter's *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*).

Derenze, Simon, Member of the International, born in 1838, died in 1890. He was one of the French delegates to the Congress of Basel in 1869, and was a member of the Commune. He escaped to Switzerland and the United States, but returned to France after the amnesty and became a very active member of the Labour Party.

Deville, Gabriel, French Socialist, born in 1854. He was a follower of Jules Guesde, with whom he propagated

Collectivism and Marxian Socialism in France. In 1878 he organized (with Guesde) an International Socialist Congress, and was condemned to two months' imprisonment. He contributed to the *Histoire Socialiste* and to the journals *Cri du Peuple*, *L'Égalité*, etc. His works include : *Le Capital de Marx* (1883) ; *Philosophie du Socialisme* (1886) ; *Principes Socialistes* (1896).

Doni, Francesco, born in Florence in 1503, died in 1574. He was the author of one of the many Utopias (q.v. Part I). His *I mondi* appeared in 1552, and the *I Inferni* in 1553. Both works were translated into French under the title *Les Mondes célestes, terrestres et infernaux* (1578). He described a Communistic State where the wise men or the sages practised community of goods and of women. See *Utopias* (Part I of this Dictionary).

Douai, Dr. Adolf, German-American Socialist, born in Altenburg in 1819, died in 1888. He studied theology and philosophy in Germany, and went to Russia as a private tutor.

A fervent Socialist, he took part in the Revolution of 1848, was accused and acquitted, but again sentenced to one year's imprisonment. He escaped, however, to Texas in 1852, and travelled through the State propagating Socialism. Douai took part in the early Socialist Labour Movement in America, became editor of the *Arbeiter Union*, and, in 1878, associate editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

Dubreuilh, Louis, French Socialist, born in 1862 at Riberac (Dordogne). In 1891 he was editor of the *Petite République*, in 1900 of the *Petit Sou*, and in 1905 was appointed editor of the *Humanité*. In 1908 he contributed to the *Histoire Socialiste* the part dealing with the history of the Commune of Paris.

Duc-Quercy, Albert, French Socialist and lecturer. He took part in the foundation of the ancient Working Men's Party, and in all the struggles, political and economic, of the proletariat. One of the directors of the *Cri du Peuple*, he left the paper in 1887, when it developed Anarchistic tendencies. Duc-Quercy also took part in the strike of Anzin in 1885, and of Decazeville in 1886, when he was

imprisoned for 15 months, and in the strike of Carmaux in 1892. He delivered numerous lectures and contributed to many Socialist papers. He was secretary of the *Humanité.*

Dumay, Jean Baptiste, French Socialist, born at Creusot in 1840. An engine worker in a factory, he was elected mayor of Creusot in 1870, took part in the movement of the Commune, and was condemned to deportation. In 1887 he was elected to the Municipal Council of Paris, and in 1899 was returned to the Chamber of Deputies.

Dupont, Clovis, French Socialist, born about 1840, died in 1902, at Issy-les-Moulineaux. He was elected member of the Commune in Paris on the 26th March 1871, and took part in the formation of the International.

Condemned to death, the sentence was remitted to one of imprisonment for life.

Dupont, Eugène, one of the founders of the International in 1864. Employed in a musical instruments factory, he was an ardent Socialist, and represented the French revolutionaries on the International.

Dupont, Pierre, French Labour poet, born in 1821, died in 1870. The son of a working-man he was destined for the Church, but left the seminary and became a silk weaver. His poetical talents attracted attention, and his songs soon became popular. His *Chants Rustiques* were highly praised, whilst his political and proletarian songs reflected the misery and suffering of the masses and are a veritable cry for justice. Famous are *Le Pain, La République des Paysans,* and *Le Chant des Ouvriers.*

His collected works appeared in 1854. Here are the first two lines of one of his songs, *Le Chant des Ouvriers :*

> Nous dont la lampe, le matin
> Au clairon du coq se rallume.

Durand, Jacques, a bootmaker, born about 1816, died on May 21, 1871. He was elected member of the Commune on April 26, 1871, and was shot after the repression.

Durand, Joseph Pierre, born in 1826. He was a partisan of the theories of Fourier, and contributed to the *Démo-*

cratie pacifique. In 1848 he took part in the Revolutionary movement, and wrote the *Petit Catéchisme politique et social*, or *La Politique et le Socialisme à la portée de tout le monde*. He had to leave France after the *coup d'état*.

Duval, Victor Emile, born in Paris in 1841, died in 1871. Originally a workman, he was elected a member of the International, and was made colonel of the 13th Legion of the National Guard after September 4, 1870, and a week later became a member of the Commune. He was shot on April 4th by General Vinoy.

Ebert, Friedrich W., German Socialist leader, born in 1861, the son of a tailor at Heidelberg. Apprenticed to a saddler, he became a harness-maker. A great reader, he acquired a good deal of knowledge, entered journalism, and contributed to the *Bürgerzeitung*. Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party in 1905, he was elected a member of the Reichstag in 1910. He came into prominence in 1917, and after the German Revolution in November 1918 became head of the Provisional Government and subsequently President of the Republic of Germany.

Ecarius, Johann Georges, German Socialist, born in the duchy of Gotha on August 23, 1818. He went to London, where he was secretary of the General Council of the International. Ecarius was a follower of Marx and a gifted writer. He managed the paper *The Commonwealth*.

Eisner, Kurt (Solomon Kosnowsky), German Socialist, born at Berlin, May 14, 1867. He early joined the Socialist movement, and was for a long time associate editor of the *Vorwärts*. After the Revolution of 1918 Eisner became Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bavaria. Later on he was elected President of the Bavarian Republic. He was assassinated on February 21, 1919. His *Gesammelte Schriften*, in 2 vols., appeared in 1919.

Enfantin, Barthélemy Prosper, le Père, born on February 8, 1796, in Paris, he died at St. Mandé on August 31, 1864. He studied at the École Polytechnique, and in 1814 took part in the Defence of Paris. He subsequently

became a commercial traveller in Russia, and was later employed in a bank in France.

In 1825 Olinde Rodrigues introduced him to Saint-Simon, whose friend he became.

A very influential follower of Saint-Simon, he eventually separated from Bazard, because the latter did not admit the religious aspect of the ideas of Saint-Simon. Enfantin was one of the founders of the community of Menilmontant, was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, but liberated after a few months. He then went to Egypt, and in 1841 returned to France, where he worked in different commercial enterprises, ultimately obtaining a post in the Lyons Railway.

His works include : *Économie Politique* (1831) ; *Morale* (1832) ; *Science de l'Homme, Philosophie Religieuse* (1858) ; *La vie eternelle, passée, présente, future* (1864).

See *Œuvres de Saint-Simon et Enfantin* (1868–78).

Engels, Friedrich, German Socialist, friend and collaborator of Karl Marx, born at Barmen in 1820, died in London in 1895. He went to Manchester in the interest of his father's cotton business, and in 1844, visiting Paris, he became acquainted with Marx and contributed to the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, published in Paris by Marx and Arnold Ruge. Engels became the intimate friend of Marx, and together they went to Brussels and London, where they joined the Communist League. He collaborated with Marx in the authorship of the *Communist Manifesto* (see *Manifesto*, Part I). He took part in the revolutionary movement in Baden and in the Palatinate in 1849, and in 1850 settled in Manchester as a manufacturer, remaining there until 1869. He was one of the founders of the International, was a member of the general council and kept up relations with Socialists all over the world.

Editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, founded by Marx at Cologne in 1848, he also contributed to the *Vorwärts*. Engels is best known as the joint author of the *Manifesto* and as editor of the second and third volumes of Marx's *Capital*, which he published after the death

of his friend in 1883 (see *Marx*). His works include: *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klassen in England* (1845); *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staates* (1884); *Entwickelung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft* (1891). Cf. K. Kautsky, *Friedrich Engels, sein Leben, sein Wirken, seine Schriften*; Dawson, *German Socialism* (in *Social Science Series*).

Eudes, Emile, French member of the Commune, born at Roncey (Manche), September 12, 1844, died at Paris, August 5, 1888. He became editor of the *Libre Pensée*, and took part with Blanqui, Granger, etc., in the attack on the station of the firemen at the Villette in August 1870. Condemned to death on August 29, he was set free on September 4, and elected a member of the Commune on March 26, 1871. He escaped to Switzerland and then went to London. After the amnesty he returned to Paris, where he organized with Blanqui the Comité Central Révolutionnaire.

Eudes was a popular speaker, and died on the tribune from an aneurism. He founded with Blanqui the paper *Ni Dieu, Ni Maître*, and, with Vaillant, the *Home Libre*.

Faberot, Pascal, French Socialist, born May 17, 1834, at Bordeaux, died August 1908 at Saint-Cyr. A hat-maker by profession, he was one of the founders of the Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire, and was elected deputy, against Charles Floquet, in 1893.

Faiguet, Joachim, French Socialist, born at Montcontour in 1703, died in 1780. In an article contributed to Diderot's and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* on the Moravian Brethren, Faiguet advocated a Communistic organization which alone could give work to everybody and put an end to misery and suffering.

Fauchet, Claude, French Christian Socialist, born at Dornes, 1744, guillotined October 31, 1793. For some time Court Chaplain, he was obliged to give up his position on account of his Socialistic views. He took an active part in the storming of the Bastille, and was invited to prepare a funeral oration on those who had fallen in the attack. Fauchet then delivered his *Discours sur la liberté*

Française. In 1790 he established a society of the Friends of Truth, and in the society's organ, *Bouche de Fer*, he developed his religious and social views, influenced by the theories contained in Rousseau's *Contrat Social.* In 1791 Fauchet was elected Constitutional Bishop of Calvados, and was sent as a representative to the Legislative Assembly of 1792. He voted against the death sentence of the King, was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal and guillotined with the Girondists.

One of Fauchet's principal arguments is his belief in the goodness of man. Man is by nature a loving creature, and can find his happiness only in fraternity. This characteristic trait of *sociabilité naturelle* is innate in human nature, extending itself to the community, the nation, and the universe. Upon these premises Fauchet built up a Communistic system so as to put an end to misery and suffering, on one side, and extreme wealth, on the other. "Malheur aux riches," and "Malheur à la Misère" should be the pivots of the social law.

His works include: *Sur les mœurs rurales* (1788); *De la Religion Nationale* (1789).

Ferre, Théophile, French Socialist, born in 1845 in Paris, and shot on November 28, 1871. A book-keeper by profession, he was elected a member of the Commune on March 26, 1871, was made substitute of the procureur of the Commune, then delegate of the Préfecture de Police. He was arrested in June 1871, and condemned to death by the War Council of Versailles.

Ferri, Enrico, Italian politician, sociologist, and criminologist, born in 1856. He studied at Bologna and Pisa, lectured at the Universities of Bologna, Siena and Pisa, and afterwards practised law at Rome. He entered the Italian Chamber in 1886 as a Socialist Deputy, and founded and edited the Socialist organ *Avanti.*

Ferroul, Joseph Antoine Jean Frédéric Ernest, French physician and Socialist, born in 1858. Elected deputy of Narbonne in 1888, 1889 and 1898. He is a Marxian Socialist and a member of the Parti Ouvrier.

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, German philosopher, born in

1762, died in 1814. Without being a Socialist, Fichte entertained views on social reform which verged on Socialism or Communism. He maintained that labour alone is the source of property, all members of society being entitled to the right to work. In his *Der Geschlossene Handelsstaat* he lays down Socialist principles regarding State control, whilst in his *Rechtsstaat* (*The State in accordance with Right*) he claims a collective organization of both labour and distribution which would result in everybody's possessing a certain amount of property. It would do away with the existing social evil of economic inequality. "Whilst some are revelling in superfluities, others are lacking the necessaries of life." Fichte's works include (English translations): *The Science of Rights*, *The Science of Knowledge*, and *The Science of Ethics based on the Science of Knowledge*.

Cf. Weber, *Fichte's Socialismus und sein Verhältniss zur Marxschen Doktrin*.

Flourens, Gustave, French politician, born in Paris April 4, 1838, died April 2, 1871. Professor at the Collège de France in 1863, he was recalled by the Government in 1864. He was an opponent of the Empire, and condemned to deportation for an attempt on the life of Napoleon III. The Council of War condemned him to death for participating in the rising on October 31, 1870. He was elected a member of the Commune on March 26, 1871.

Fourier, François Charles Marie, French Socialist, born at Besançon on April 7, 1772, died at Paris, October 9, 1837. Educated in the college of his native town, he became a merchant, travelled extensively and, at his father's death, inherited some money. His property was destroyed during the Revolution, and after serving two years in the army he became agent for a provision merchant. As such he had to destroy quantities of rice which, the owners having retained them too long for higher prices, were now unfit for consumption. This destruction of food, so much required by the poor, produced a deep impression upon Fourier. Becoming inter-

ested in social questions, he published a work entitled, *Théorie des Quatre Mouvements* (1808). The universe, claimed Fourier, is governed by laws, which man can discover and, by applying them to social life, introduce perfect harmony in society and an era of happiness and prosperity. In order that society might live in harmony, humanity ought to live in units, "large enough to allow all the passions" (there are twelve, according to Fourier) "to operate freely."

Society, therefore, ought to be arranged in groups, each group consisting of two thousand persons. Each group, called phalanx, would live in one building, occupied with agriculture, manufacture, commerce, art, science or government. The members of each phalanx would again be arranged in smaller groups, each individual being allowed to change from one group to another as he pleased. Work would thus become a pleasure, and exploitation of labour would disappear. Thus, by forming a social organization which will produce harmony by uniting suitable numbers of persons in communities (or phalanxes), living as one family in one building (or a phalanstery), Fourier hoped to solve the social question. Fourier's scheme is thus based upon association, and his Socialism is distinguished from the Socialism of Saint-Simon and of Owen, and from modern Scientific Socialism, as he does not wish to abolish either private property or inheritance. A description of Fourierism has been given by J. S. Mill in his *Political Economy* (Book II, chap. i, section 4):

"The most skilfully combined," writes Mill, "and with the greatest foresight of objections, of all the forms of Socialism is that commonly known as Fourierism. This system does not contemplate the abolition of private property, nor even of inheritance: on the contrary, it avowedly takes into consideration, as an element in the distribution of the produce, capital as well as labour. It proposes that the operations of industry should be carried on by associations of about two thousand members, combining their labour on a district of about a square

league in extent, under the guidance of chiefs selected by themselves. In the distribution, a certain minimum is first assigned for the subsistence of every member of the community, whether capable or not of labour. The remainder of the produce is shared in certain proportions, to be determined beforehand, among the three elements, Labour, Capital, and Talent. The capital of the community may be owned in unequal shares by different members, who would in that case receive, as in any other joint-stock company, proportional dividends.

"The claim of each person on the share of the produce apportioned to talent is estimated by the grade or rank which the individual occupied in the several groups of labourers to which he or she belongs: these grades being in all cases conferred by the choice of his or her companions. The remuneration when received would not, of necessity, be expended or enjoyed in common. There would be separate ménages for all who preferred them, and no other community of living is contemplated, than that all the members of the association should reside in the same pile of buildings: for saving of labour and expense, not only in building, but in every branch of domestic economy; and in order that, the whole of the buying and selling operations of the community being performed by a single agent, the enormous portion of the produce of industry now carried off by the profits of mere distributors might be reduced to the smallest amount possible.

"This system, unlike Communism, does not, in theory at least, withdraw any of the motives to exertion which exist in the present state of society. On the contrary, if the arrangement worked according to the intentions of its contrivers, it would even strengthen these motives, since each person would have much more certainty of reaping individually the fruits of increased skill or energy, bodily or mental, than under the present social arrangements can be felt by any but those who are in the most advantageous positions or to whom the chapter of accidents is more than ordinarily favourable. The Fourierists,

however, have still another resource. They believe that they have solved the great and fundamental problem of rendering labour attractive. That this is not impracticable, they contend by very strong arguments: in particular by one which they have in common with the Owenites, viz. that scarcely any labour, however severe, undergone by human beings for the sake of subsistence, exceeds in intensity that which other human beings, whose subsistence is already provided for, are found ready and even eager to undergo for pleasure. This certainly is a most significant fact, and one from which the student in social philosophy may draw important instruction. But the argument founded on it may be stretched too far. If occupations full of discomfort and fatigue are freely pursued by many persons as amusements, who does not see that they are amusements exactly because they are pursued freely, and may be discontinued at pleasure? The liberty of quitting a position often makes the whole difference between its being painful and pleasurable. Many a person remains in the same town, street or house from January to December, without a wish or a thought tending towards removal, who, if confined at the same place by the mandate of authority, would find the imprisonment absolutely intolerable.

"According to the Fourierists, scarcely any kind of useful labour is naturally and necessarily disagreeable, unless it is regarded as dishonourable, or is immoderate in degree, or destitute of the stimulus of sympathy and emulation. Excessive toil need not, they contend, be undergone by any one in a society in which there would be no idle class, and no labour wasted, as so enormous an amount of labour is so wasted in useless things; and where full advantage would be taken of the power of association, both in increasing the efficiency of production and in economizing consumption. The other requisites for rendering labour attractive would, they think, be found in the execution of all labour by social groups, to any number of which the same individual might simultaneously belong, at his or her own choice; their grade in each

being determined by the degree of service which they were found capable of rendering, as appreciated by the suffrages of their comrades. It is inferred from the diversity of tastes and talents, that every member of the community would be attached to several groups, employing themselves in various kinds of occupation, some bodily, others mental, and would be capable of occupying a high place in some one or more : so that a real equality, or something more nearly approaching to it than might at first be supposed, would practically result—not from the compression, but, on the contrary, from the largest possible development of the various natural superiorities residing in each individual.

"Even from so brief an outline, it must be evident that this system does no violence to any of the general laws by which human action, even in the present imperfect state of moral and intellectual cultivation, is influenced ; and that it would be extremely rash to pronounce it incapable of success, or unfitted to realize a great part of the hopes founded on it by its partisans. With regard to this, as to all other varieties of Socialism, the thing to be desired, and to which they have a just claim, is opportunity of trial. They are all capable of being tried on a moderate scale, and at no risk, either personal or pecuniary, to any except those who try them. It is for experience to determine how far or how soon any one or more of the possible systems of community of property will be fitted to substitute itself for the 'organization of industry' based on private ownership of land and capital. In the meantime we may, without attempting to limit the ultimate capabilities of human nature, affirm that the political economist, for a considerable time to come, will be chiefly concerned with the conditions of existence and progress belonging to a society founded on private property and individual competition ; and that the object to be principally aimed at in the present stage of human improvement is not the subversion of the system of individual property, but the improvement of it, and the full participation of every member of the community in its benefits."

In 1824 Fourier tried to persuade Robert Owen to apply his doctrines to real life. After 1831 he gained a few followers, notably Considérant (q.v.), and in 1832 a phalanstery was established at Condé-sur-Vesgre, but failed. See *Brisbane*; *Brook Farm*; *Communistic Experiments*.

Fourier's works include: *Théorie des quatre mouvements* (1808); *Traité de l'unité Universelle* (1821); *Le Nouveau monde industriel ou Sociétaire* (1829); *Pièges et Charlatanisme des sectes Saint-Simon et Owen qui promettent l'association et le progrès* (1831). Cf. R. T. Ely, *French and German Socialism*.

Fourier, School of. For a long time Juste Muiron was the only disciple of Fourier, until V. Considérant (q.v.) became another ardent follower and an apostle of Socialism. Many Saint-Simonists also joined the School of Fourier. The organ *Phalanstère* was created and published from 1832 to 1834. A practical attempt was also made in 1832 to realize the ideas of the master by establishing a phalansterium. It failed, as did the next attempt in 1841–42, and a third in Algiers. Fourierism was introduced into England by Hugh Doherty, who, in 1840, founded in London the *Morning Star*. In America, A. Brisbane advocated Fourierism in his *Social Destiny of Man* (1840). As practical attempts of Fourierism we may mention the Communist communities of Brook Farm, Hopedale, Northampton Community, and Skaneateles Community. See *Communistic Experiments*.

Fournière, Joseph Eugène, French publicist and professor, born in Paris, May 31, 1857. Interested in the Socialist Movement, he was condemned to eight and a half months' imprisonment for the strikes of Bessèges and Grand Combe. He was manager of the *Revue Socialiste*, and contributed to several Socialist papers in Paris and in the provinces.

His writings include: *L'âme de demain* (1894); *L'Idéalism, social* (1898); *Essai sur l'individualisme social* (1901); *Les théories socialistes au XIX^e siècle* (1903); *L'individu l'Association et l'État* (1908).

He wrote, in the *Histoire socialiste*, the part relative to *Histoire du règne de Louis-Philippe*.

Frankel, Leo, Socialist, born at Budapest on February 28, 1844, died at Paris, March 28, 1896. The son of a physician, he came to France towards the end of the Empire. He was one of the founders of the Lyons section of the International, and in 1870 was condemned to two months' imprisonment. Set free on September 4th, he entered the National Guards and fought with Garibaldi. One of the best known speakers, he was elected a member of the Commune, and was a delegate on the Commission of Work, Industry, and Exchange. During the barricades in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine he was wounded, and escaped to London.

Frankel took part in the International Socialist Congresses of Paris (1889), Brussels (1891), and Zurich (1893). He was a contributor to several Socialist papers and wrote in the *Vorwärts*.

Freiligrath, Ferdinand, German poet and Socialist, born at Detmold in 1810, died at Connstadt in 1876. Destined for a mercantile career, he went to Amsterdam in 1831. From 1836–39 he was in Barmen. But then the success of his first poems, *Tropenlieder*, encouraged him to devote himself to poetry. He became interested in the new liberal ideas, and having met Marx at Brussels in 1844 became interested in the latter's doctrines. Freiligrath became more and more popular as a poet. In 1846 he went to London as commercial correspondent, but when the news of the March days of 1848 reached him he went home and became an ardent leader of the Democratic Party. For his poem *Die Toten an die Lebenden* (*The Dead to the Living*) he was arrested, and remained for several weeks in prison.

Gall, Heinrich Ludwig Lampert, the first German Socialist, born in 1790, died in 1883. Gall was very early struck by the injustice of society, and by the social evolution which had put all power into the hands of capitalists, resulting in the poverty of the workers. In 1819 he left his Government post and devoted himself to the move-

ment of Social Reform. If labour, argued Gall, is the source of all wealth, and if the work of the workers is sufficient to provide not only these but also the idlers with superfluities, why is it that just the working-men are living in misery? Whilst the labouring classes, the producers, are often in want of the necessaries of life, the non-producers are living in luxury.

Gall then conducted to America a company of German unemployed and organized a colony near Harrisburg. His efforts to make them successful colonists failed, and he returned to Germany and again obtained a Government post. He worked hard on many inventions, with a view to collecting enough money to carry on his propaganda. He then went to England and to France, met Owen, Fourier and several Saint-Simonists, and tried to organize an international movement. In 1828 he published a paper called *Menschenfreundliche Blätter*, but was not able to continue it for want of means. Gall was the first who had raised the voice of modern Socialism in Germany, expounding the economics of the movement with great clearness, and suggesting an industrial organization of the workers. His work, *Mein Wollen und mein Wissen*, appeared in 1835.

Gambon, Charles Ferdinand, French Socialist, born at Bourges, March 19, 1820, died at Cosnel (Nièvre), September 16, 1887. A barrister by profession, he took an interest in politics, and in 1848 and 1849 was deputy for Nièvre, in 1871 for the Seine, and in 1882 for Nièvre. In 1851 he was deported by Bonaparte. Elected deputy in 1871, he took part in the Semaine Sanglante on the barricades. He escaped to Lausanne, was sentenced to death, but returned to France after the amnesty. In 1885 he submitted to the Chamber of Deputies a proposition for the abolition of the permanent army. He wrote two pamphlets: *La Revanche*, and *Dernière Révolution*.

Gay, Jules, French Socialist, born in 1807. He was joint-editor of the *Almanach de la Communauté pour* 1843, and later sole editor of the *Communiste*. He was a follower of the Socialist ideas of Owen. In 1868

appeared his book, *Le Socialisme rationnel et le Socialisme autoritaire.*

George, Henry, American author, born at Philadelphia on September 2, 1839, died in 1899 at New York. According to George, the chief source of economic evil lies in the individual appropriation of the land. He, therefore, suggested its appropriation by the collectivity, indemnifying the present owners. See *Land Nationalization,* Part I.

His works include: *Our Land and Land Policy* (1871); *Progress and Poverty* (1879); *The Irish Question* (1881).

Gérardin, Charles, French Socialist. A book-keeper by profession, he became an ardent Socialist and was elected a member of the Commune in 1871. He was a delegate of the Commission of the Sûreté Générale. Before the failure of the Commune he escaped with Rossel, and was condemned in his absence to deportation.

Gérardin, Eugène, born in 1830, member of the International and of the Commune. Delegate of the Commission of Work, Industry and Exchange.

Ghent, William James, American Socialist, born in 1866. First a compositor by profession, he became a reporter and editor of several periodicals, and contributed to the *Independent.* An independent Socialist, he formally joined the Party in 1904. In 1906 he was appointed secretary of the Rand School of Social Science. He was one of the founders of the Social Reform Club of New York in 1894.

His works include: *Our Benevolent Feudalism* (1902); *Mass and Class* (1904).

Glasier, J. Bruce, Scottish Socialist, born in Glasgow in 1859. He was apprenticed to an architect, and afterwards worked as a metal designer. As an ardent Socialist, Glasier propagated Socialism in Glasgow and took an active part in the Henry George, Crofter and Irish Land League agitations. He was one of the founders of the Social Democratic Federation in Scotland, but upon the formation of the Socialist League in 1884 he left the Federation. In 1893 he joined the Independent Labour Party, and became its chairman in succession to Keir

Hardie. In 1906 he contested the Bordesley division of Birmingham as a Socialist. In 1907 he became editor of the *Labour Leader*, which he developed and which became the principal Socialist organ in Great Britain.

His works include: *William Morris and the Early Days of the Socialist Movement* (1921).

Goblet, René Marie, French Socialist, born at Aire, 1828. He studied law, then took up journalism and subsequently politics. From January till August 1882 he was Minister of the Interior in the Freycinet Cabinet; from 1885–86 Minister of Public Instruction under Brisson; from 1886–87 President of the Council; and from 1888–89 Minister of Foreign Affairs. He died in 1905.

Goblet was one of the leading Socialists in French Government circles. He wrote numerous essays, and published *La Révision de la Constitution* (1893).

Godin, Y. B. André, French Socialist, born at Esqueheries in 1817, died January 17, 1888, at Guise (Aisne). A follower of the theories of Fourier, he was the founder of the Familistère de Guise. After the fall of the French Empire, he was general councillor of the Aisne, and mayor of Guise in 1870, and entered the Chamber of Deputies in 1871.

Godin's works include: *Solutions Sociales* (1871); *Socialistes et les droits du travail* (1874); *La Politique du Travail et la politique des privilèges* (1875); *La Richesse au service du peuple, le familistère* (1876); *Mutualité Sociale* (1880); *Le Gouvernement, ce qu'il a été, ce qu'il doit être et le vrai Socialisme en action* (1883); *La République du Travail et la Réforme parlementaire* (1889).

Godwin, William, British social philosopher, born March 3, 1756, at Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, died in London, April 7, 1836. The son of a clergyman, he was influenced by the ideas of Rousseau and Holbach, gave up his clerical position and devoted himself to literary work. In 1796 he married Mary Wollstonecraft, the pioneer of woman's emancipation. Godwin has been considered (wrongly, I think) as one of the first representatives of Scientific Socialism. In 1793 appeared his famous work,

Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Morals and Happiness. In this work Godwin expounded his theories, which are not Socialistic, but rather Anarcho-communistic. They are similar to those propagated later on by Prince Kropotkin. "Anarchy," wrote Godwin, "is not a state of disorder, but of mutual forbearance." The new social order, however, could be effected not through any social revolution, but through the victory of the idea of justice. The task of the true politician should be to accustom men not to think of their own interests, but to delight in the advantage of others. The day will come, he hopes, when men will consider it a social injustice to be rich, whilst others are suffering want, hunger and privations, and will voluntarily renounce their wealth. Godwin's ideas of just distribution of wealth may be summed up as follows: Everybody has a right to all the commodities for which he has a better use than his fellow-men. Everybody should freely dispose of the product of his labour. The present social order enables many to usurp the product of the labour of others, that is, to enjoy revenue without working. This order must be changed. Godwin, however, did not postulate collective ownership of property, because without private property and without individual freedom there could be "no independence, no progress, no virtue and no happiness." What he postulated was a just and equal distribution of property among all the members of the community. In order, however, to make this equality permanent, it is necessary for society to recognize the principle according to which everybody is entitled to the entire product of his work.

Among those who were influenced by Godwin's ideas were the poet Shelley. One passage from Godwin's *Enquiry* induced Malthus to write his work on population. Under a reasonable social order, Godwin maintained, the human race could multiply without fear, and the earth would still produce sufficient to feed and clothe the myriads of her population. Cf. Hélène Simon, *W. Godwin und Mary Wollstonecraft.*

Goehre, Paul, German Socialist, born April 18, 1864,

at Wurzen, Saxony. After studying theology at Leipzig, he became assistant pastor at Schönbach and Lobau, and associate editor of the *Christliche Welt.* In 1890 he entered a factory at Chemnitz as a common labourer, and described his experiences in his *Drei Monate Fabrickarbeiter und Handwerkerbursche.* He then went to Berlin, where he studied political economy, and in 1891 was general secretary of the Evangelical Social Congress. In 1897 he founded, with Naumann, the National-Soziale Partei, and in 1899 joined the Social Democratic Party. In 1903 he was elected to the Reichstag, but resigned.

His works include: *The Evangelical Social Movement, its History and Aims* (1896); *How a Clergyman became a Socialist* (1900); *Socialism and Liberalism* (1902); *Recollections of a Working Man* (1903).

Goupil, Edouard Alfred, French physician and Socialist. Delegate to the Commission of Instruction and member of the Commune in 1871, he was condemned to five years' imprisonment. His works include: *Maladies de Poitrine* (1874), and *Sexe mâle* (1875).

Granger, Ernest Henri, French Socialist, born at Mortagne (Orne), April 20, 1844. He studied in Paris, interested himself in politics, and was condemned to four months' imprisonment for a political offence in 1866. In 1870 he contributed to Blanqui's *Patrie en danger.* Accused by the Commission of Safety of helping Blanqui to escape, he took refuge for some time in London, but returned to France in 1879. He parted from his political friends to follow General Boulanger. Granger contributed to the *Ni Dieu, ni Maître,* and published the *Critique Sociale* in 1885. He contributed to the *Homme Libre* and the *Cri du Peuple.*

Gray, John, British Socialist, who lived in the first half of the 19th century. He was struck with the social discrepancies and the abuses of the Capitalist system, and expounded his ideas in a work published in 1825 under the title *Lecture on Human Happiness.* The only just basis of property, according to Gray, is labour. As under the present system men are living on the labour of others,

a new social system should be introduced, wherein the productive classes will receive the product of their labours and wherein everybody will acquire property corresponding to the amount of labour produced. In 1831 Gray published his social system, wherein, like Owen and Proudhon, he proposed a new money-system. Money should be merely a receipt, proving that the holder of it has contributed a certain value to the national stock of wealth. Besides the *Social System*, a treatise on the principle of exchange, Gray also wrote: *An Efficient Remedy for the Distress of Nations* (1842), and *Lectures on the Nature and Use of Money*. Cf. M. Beer, *History of British Socialism*, vol. i.

Grönland, Lawrence, American Socialist and writer, born in Denmark 1848, died in 1899. He studied law at the University of Copenhagen, and went to America in 1867. In 1869 he was admitted to the Bar and began to practise law in Chicago. Influenced by Pascal's *Pensées*, he interested himself in Socialism.

His works include: *The Dialogue on The Coming Revolution* (1880); *Co-operative Commonwealth*; *Danton, a Study of the French Revolution* (1887), and *Our Destiny* (1890).

Grün, Karl, German Socialist, born at Ludenscheid 1813, died in Vienna in 1887. He studied theology, philosophy and history at Bonn and Berlin, and founded the *Mannheimer Abendzeitung*. Expelled from Baden for his revolutionary tendencies, he settled in Cologne, where he edited a weekly paper, "*Der Sprecher*" *oder* "*Rheinisch Westphalischer Anzeiger*." All the radical journalists on the Rhine were then greatly interested in the ideas of equality preached in France, especially since the publication of Stein's *Socialism in France*, and Grün, too, became a Socialist.

In 1848 Grün was elected to the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet, and joined the extreme Left. After the dissolution of the Diet he was accused of having taken part in the Pfalz uprising, and was sent to prison for eight months. In 1870 he went to Vienna, where he died. *Die Soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien* appeared in 1845.

Guesde, Jules Basile, French publicist and Socialist leader, born in Paris, November 11, 1845, died in 1921. At the age of twenty he turned his attention to political journalism, founded in 1870 *Les Droits de l'Homme*, in which he defended the Commune. Condemned to five years' imprisonment, he fled to Geneva, where he organized a section of the International. He became an admirer of Karl Marx, and thought now of reorganizing the French Socialist Party after the model of the German. Returning to France, he founded a weekly paper *Égalité*, in which he exposed his plans and views.

In 1878 he was arrested for revolutionary and socialistic propaganda, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. In 1880 he went to Lyons, where, with Benoit, Malon, he edited the first Socialist daily, *L'Émancipation*. Again sent to prison in 1882, he wrote, with Lafargue, the famous *Programme du Parti Ouvrier*, published in 1883. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1893, and was regularly returned. Guesde was one of the first to introduce Collectivist propaganda in France after the Commune, and constantly to preach social revolution and class war.

The great European War changed the opinions of Guesde, and in a public report he accused Germany of being a traitor to the peace of Europe, and treated the German Socialist Party as traitors. In 1919 he was appointed Minister (without portfolio) in the Viviani Cabinet.

His works include: *Le Livre Rouge de la Justice Rurale* (1872); *Essai de Catéchisme Socialiste* (1878); *Collectivisme et Révolution* (1879); *Le Collectivisme au Collège de France* (1883); *Le Collectivisme* (1891); *Le Socialisme au jour le jour* (1899); *Quatre ans de lutte de classe* (1901); *État, Morale et Politique de classe* (1901); *En garde contre les contrefaçons du socialisme et la fausse monnaie des réformes bourgeoises* (1911).

Hanford, Ben, American Socialist, born in 1859. He was a member of the International Typographical Union for twenty-eight years. In 1900 he was the candidate

of the Social Democratic Party, and in 1901 the candidate of the Social Democratic Party for the post of mayor of New York City. He wrote numerous pamphlets which were very popular.

Hardie, J. Keir, British Labour leader and Socialist, born in Scotland in 1856, died in 1915. From the age of seven to twenty-four he worked in the coal-mines, and became secretary of the Lanarkshire Miners' Union. From 1882–86 he edited the *Cumnock News*, and from 1887–1903 the *Labour Leader*. In 1893 Hardie founded the Socialist Independent Labour Party. He was returned to the House of Commons in 1892, and became the leader of the Labour Party in Parliament. From 1913 to 1914 he was Chairman of the Independent Labour Party.

His works include: *Labour Politics* (1903); and *From Serfdom to Socialism* (1907).

Hasenclever, Wilhelm, German Socialist, born in Arnsberg, Westphalia, in 1837, died in 1889. In 1862 he became editor of the *Westphalische Volkszeitung*, and edited several Socialist newspapers.

In 1871 he was chosen President of the General German Labour Union, and in 1875 member of the Committee of the Socialist Labour Party.

With Liebknecht he edited the *Vorwärts* from 1876 to 1878, and he was several times (1869–70 and 1874–78) a member of the Reichstag.

Haslam, James, British Socialist and Labour leader, born in 1842. He was a coal-miner for twenty-nine years and general secretary of the Derbyshire Miners' Association for twenty-five years. A member of the Clay Lane School Board, of the Chesterfield Board of Guardians, and of the Chesterfield Borough Council; of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, and a Justice of the Peace at Chesterfield in 1893. He was returned to Parliament in 1906.

Haw, George, British writer, born at Darlington, in 1871. In 1889 he came to London, and was for a time at Toynbee Hall. He took part in the foundation of the Maurice Hostel, and was its first warden. He wrote: *No Room*

to Live, the Story of Overcrowded London; *To-day's Work, or Municipal Government, the Hope of Democracy*; *Britain's Homes*; *Religious Doubts of the Democracy*; *Christianity and the Working Classes.*

Hayes, John W., General Master Workman of the Knights of Labour, born in 1854. He worked as a brakeman on the Pennsylvania Railroad, lost his right arm in 1878 and took to telegraphy. He entered the Knights of Labour, was on the General Executive Board, secretary, treasurer and General Master Workman.

Hayes, Max S., American Socialist, born at Havana in 1886. A printer by profession, he was one of the founders of *The Cleveland Citizen* in 1890, becoming editor of the paper in 1897. He adhered to Socialism in 1896.

Hébert, Jacques René, French politician and publicist, born at Alençon, November 15, 1755, died in 1794. Educated in his native city, he went to Rouen, then to Paris, where he edited the famous journal *Le Père Duchesne.* He was elected a member of the Revolutionary Commune, and approved of the September massacres. In December of the same year he was appointed a substitute procureur for the Commune.

He organized, with Charmette, the worship of reason. Hébert's idea was to build up a new class on the ruins of the old ones, a class which would only acknowledge equality and freedom. He violently attacked the rich, who continued to oppress the poor in spite of the Revolution.

Heinse, Johann Jakob Wilhelm, German novelist, born in 1749, died in 1803. After studying law at Jena and Erfurt, he published his first work in 1771. From the Socialist point of view, Heinse is interesting as the author of a novel, *Ardinghello and the Happy Islands* (1787). His heroes founded a Communistic community on the islands of Paros and Naxos.

Henderson, The Rt. Hon. Arthur, British Labour leader, Socialist and Cabinet Minister, born at Glasgow in 1863. Apprenticed as a moulder at Newcastle, he joined the Friendly Society of Ironfounders in 1883. He entered Parliament in 1893, was Chairman of the Parliamentary

Labour Party from 1908 to 1910, and from 1914 to 1917. He was Minister without portfolio during the War, and in 1924 became Home Secretary in the MacDonald Cabinet, the first Labour (often called Socialist) Government of Great Britain.

His works include *The Aims of Labour*.

Herpin, Lacroix, a lithographer and officer of the Garde Nationale. He was the defender of the Generals Thomas and Lecomte against the furious crowd in the Rue des Rosiers, and was wounded. For this he was condemned to death, and was executed on February 22, 1872.

Herron, George Davis, American Socialist, born in 1862. After being pastor in several places, he became Professor of Applied Christianity at Iowa, but resigned in 1900. He then founded the *Social Crusader*, and began to lecture on the economics of the Kingdom of Heaven. He then preached Christian Socialism, although his views became more radical later on.

His works include: *The Larger Christ* (1891); *The Call of the Cross* (1892); *The New Redemption* (1893); *The Christian State* (1895); *Social Meaning of Religious Experiences* (1897); *Between Cæsar and Jesus* (1899); *Why I am a Socialist* (1900); *Wagner and Parsifal* (1903).

Hertzka, Theodor, Austrian publicist and political economist, born July 13, 1845, at Budapest (Hungary). He studied in Vienna, and in 1872 became editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*. In 1880 he was appointed director of the *Wiener Neue allgemeine Zeitung*. Hertzka expounded Socialist theories for the first time in his work *Die Gesetze der Socialen Entwickelung* (1886), wherein he suggested the transformation of the soil from private into collective property, the private owners being compensated by society. In his famous work, *Freiland, ein Soziales Zukunftsbild* (1880), he made propaganda for a thorough social reform on the lines of anarchic Communism, postulating the foundation of a Socialist colony, Freiland (Freeland), wherein all the means of production would be common property, and where everybody, whilst abso-

lutely free, would have a right to the entire product of his labour.

Hertzka's other works include : *Die Gesetze der Handelspolitik* (1880) ; *Die Probleme der Menschlichen Wirtschaft* (1897) ; *Eine Reise nach Freiland* (1893) ; *Entrückt in die Zukunft* (1895).

Hervé, Gustave, French writer and Socialist, born in 1871 at Brest (Finistère). Professor of History and barrister, Hervé was the founder of *La Guerre Sociale*, an Anarchist and Socialist paper. He became a member of the Socialist Party, and was condemned to prison for several articles.

His ideas, however, on militarism, sabotage and political action of the Socialists were more Anarchistic than Socialist. In 1914, at the outbreak of the European War, he became an ardent patriot and a supporter of the Government, and is now considered almost a renegade by the Socialists. He changed the name of his paper from *La Guerre Sociale* into that of *La Victoire.*

His works include: *Leur Patrie* ; *Histoire populaire de la France.*

Herwegh, Georg, German poet, born at Stuttgart in 1817, died in 1875. He went to Switzerland, and there in 1841 published his *Gedichte eines Lebendigen.* His poems, which have a revolutionary tinge and express a dissatisfaction with existing conditions, became very popular, so that on his way back to Germany he was enthusiastically greeted everywhere. He went to Paris, where he became intimate with Heine and George Sand, and had personal relations with the German Communists. One of his famous poems is *Das Lied der Arbeit.*

Herzen, Alexander Ivanovitsh, Russian revolutionary and author, born at Moscow in 1812, died in Paris in 1870. In spite of the strict censorship, revolutionary propaganda was active in Russia, and young Herzen was influenced by the revolutionary ideas. In 1834 he was exiled to Perm, then to Viatka, where he was given a position in the Governor's office. He was then transferred to Vladimir, and in 1840 returned to Moscow. Under the pseudonym

of *Iskander* he published two philosophical works and several novels. In 1847 he left Russia and settled in Paris, where he became an agitator for the abolition of the Russian autocracy.

Expelled from Paris, he went to Switzerland, then to London, where, in 1857, he founded the free Russian paper *Kolokol* (*The Bell*). From 1864 to 1868 this paper was published at Geneva.

Herzen was a friend of Proudhon, and was for a long time one of the most active representatives of the European Revolutionary Party. A Republic which does not tend to Socialism he considered a contradiction in itself; a Socialism, however, which is not democratic would result in an oligarchy. Cf. A. S. Rappoport, *Pioneers of the Russian Revolution.*

Hess, Moses, German writer and Socialist, born at Bonn in 1812, died in 1875. The son of an orthodox Jew, he left home on account of disagreements with the principles of his father. He went to England, France, then returned to Germany, where he was reconciled with his father. He became greatly interested in Socialism and, like other great men of his time, was influenced by Proudhon. In 1863, after his second return to Germany, he took part in Lassalle's Working Men's Movement, but soon afterwards went to France, where he settled. His first philosophical work, *Die heilige Geschichte der Menschen,* appeared in 1837. In 1841 Hess published *Die Europaische Triarchie,* where he advocated a triple alliance between England, France and Germany against barbaric Russia.

Hess was the principal representative of the so-called *Philosophical Socialism.* He protested against the erroneous notion that the Socialists intended to divide the national wealth. "Be assured, you dirty souls," he writes, "who are unable to elevate yourselves to the great idea of Socialism. We do not wish to divide, but to unite." He took an active part in the revolutionary rising of 1849 and was sentenced to death *in contumaciam.*

His works include: *Ueber die Sozialistische Bewegung*

in England (1845); *Rechte der Arbeit* (1863); *Rom und Jerusalem* (1860), and *Dynamische Stofflehre.*

Hilferding, Rudolf, German Socialist, best known as one of the exponents of Scientific Socialism. He has contributed largely to the *Marx Studien.* Among his studies are: *Böhm Bawerks Marx Kritik*; *Das Finanz-Kapital,* etc.

Hillquit, Morris, American Socialist, born in 1869 at Riga, Russia, now capital of Latvia. He came to New York in 1886 and studied law. Joining the Socialist Party, he soon became a prominent member, and was a delegate to several International Socialist Congresses. In 1904 he became representative at the International Socialist bureau at Brussels. Hillquit was very active in spreading Marxian Socialism in America.

His works include: *History of Socialism in the United States* (1903); *Socialism in Theory and Practice* (1909); *Socialism Summed Up* (1912), etc.

Hodge, John, British Labour leader and Socialist, born at Muirkirk, Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1855. Educated at Glasgow, he soon interested himself in the Labour Movement, and in 1886 became secretary of the Steel Smelters' Association. In 1892 he was president of the Glasgow Trades Council and president of the Trades Union Congress. In 1898 Hodge was elected to the Manchester City Council. In 1906 he was returned to the House of Commons as member for Gorton, Lancashire. He was Chairman of the Labour Party in the House of Commons in 1915, Minister for Labour 1916–17, and Minister of Pensions 1917–19.

Hodgskin, Thomas, British Anarchist (with Socialist tendencies), born in 1783, died in 1869. He was the son of poor parents, entered the navy at the age of 12, and was reduced to half-pay for some offence. Embittered by this injustice, he published in 1812 *An Essay on Naval Discipline.* Subsequently he travelled in France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland. In 1825 appeared his work *Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital,* wherein he maintained that Capital is unproductive and that Labour alone creates value. Hodgskin is, however, an Anarchist rather

than a Socialist, foreseeing the future happiness of humanity in a life free from all authoritative coercion.

He postulated an individual, not a collective, production and consumption of commodities. He was, however, one of the first of the revolutionary writers of the first half of the 19th century to call attention to the theory of value, and to make many statements which were afterwards developed by Scientific Socialism. Cf. E. Halévy, *Thomas Hodgskin*; F. Muckle, *Die Geschichte der Sozialistischen Ideen im 19ten Jahrhundert*, vol. i; article, Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*.

Holst, Henriette Roland, Dutch author and Socialist, born in 1869 at Noorduyic, Holland. She joined the Socialist Democratic Labour Party in 1897, and became an ardent and devoted partisan of Marxian Socialism. Her works include: *Capital and Labour in Holland*; *The General Strike and Social Democracy*.

Hovelacque, Alexandre Abel, French linguist and anthropologist, born in Paris in 1843, died in 1896. One of the founders of the École d'Anthropologie, he was Professor of Linguistic Ethnography, and in 1890 director of this school. Greatly interested in politics, he was an independent Socialist.

Huber, Victor Aimé, German social reformer and founder of German Christian Socialism, born at Stuttgart in 1800, died in 1869. He visited Paris, Lisbon, Hamburg, Edinburgh, Italy, and finally settled in Bremen, where he became Master at the Merchants' School. In 1832 Huber had a post at the University of Rostock, and subsequently at Marburg.

As editor of a periodical, *Janus*, Huber availed himself of the publication to propagate his ideas on Co-operation. After the March revolution of 1848, this periodical was suppressed, and Huber founded the Association of Christian Order and Liberty.

He then travelled frequently to France, Belgium, and England, spreading his ideas on co-operative associations. See E. Jaeger, *Victor Aimé Huber, ein Vorkämpfer der Sozialen Reform*.

Hudson, Walter, British Labour leader and Socialist, born in 1852. For 26 years he was a main-line guard. He took great interest in Trade Union work, and in 1891, at the annual Congress of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, was elected president. In 1903 he was appointed president of the Irish Trades Congresses. He was returned to Parliament in 1906 for Newcastle-on-Tyne, retaining his seat till 1918. He was president of the Labour Party Congress at Hull in 1908.

Huet, François, Belgian Christian Socialist, born in 1814, died in Paris in 1869. He was Professor of Philosophy at the University of Ghent, and in 1846 began to occupy himself with social questions. As Laveleye, his pupil, has pointed out, Huet was a Christian Socialist, claiming equality and liberty, and his ideas remind us of those of Fichte. His theories are a mixture of Christian Socialism and of individualism, the principal idea being that men are by right equal, and that there should be a perfect equality of opportunity. His works include: *Le Règne Social du Christianisme.* Cf. E. de Laveleye, *Contemporary Socialism.*

Hughes, Clovis, a French politician and publicist, born at Menerbes (Vaucluse), November 3, 1851, died in Paris June 11, 1907. He studied at the Seminary of Sainte-Garde, but gave up the Church and became an employé on the *Peuple* at Marseilles, which was managed by Gustave Naquet. Subsequently Hughes became editor of this paper. In 1870, and on the 18th of March, 1871, he, with his friends, took possession of the town hall. He was condemned to three years' imprisonment, and paid a fine of 3,000 francs, for an article in the *Fraternité.* In 1875 Hughes contributed to the *Egalité* and *Jeune République.* He entered the Chamber of Deputies in 1881. He was an independent Socialist. His works include: *La Femme dans son état le plus intéressant* (1870); *Jours de combat* (1883); *La Chanson de Jeanne d'Arc* (1900), etc.

Hyndman, Henry Mayers, British Socialist leader, born in 1842, died in 1923. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, Hyndman took his degree in 1864 and entered the

Inner Temple in 1865. In 1866 he went to the war then waging between Austria and Italy, as correspondent for the *Pall Mall Gazette*. He became acquainted with Garibaldi and Mazzini, and from 1869-71 travelled through the United States and Australia. Defeated at the general election of 1880, he started with several others an agitation against Gladstone's "coercion policy" in Ireland. In January 1881 he founded the Social Democratic Federation, and from that time Hyndman became a very active agitator for Socialism. Chairman of the International Socialist Congress in London (1896), he helped to establish the New (Second) International in Paris in 1900. He was a member of the Socialist Bureau from 1900 to 1910. He agitated against the Transvaal War, and warned the British public against the German menace. His numerous works include: *Historical Basis of Socialism* (1883); *England for All* (1881); *A Commune for London* (1888); *Economics of Socialism* (1896); *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (1911); *The Future of Democracy* (1915); *The Awakening of Asia* (1919); *The Evolution of Revolution* (1920).

Irons, Martin, Knight of Labour, born in Dundee in 1832, died in 1901. He went to the United States in 1846, worked as an apprentice in a machine shop, and joined the Knights of Labour in 1885. He was chairman of the executive board of the Knights of Labour, and ordered the great railroad strike of 1886.

Jaurès, Jean Léon, French Socialist leader, born at Castres (Tarn) in 1859, died in 1914. Professor of Philosophy at Albi and then at Toulouse, he was influenced by the writings of Malon, which led him to Socialism. Returned to the Chamber of Deputies in 1885 and in 1893, he became the leading Socialist of the Chamber, and leader of the evolutionary wing of the national Socialist movement. Editor of the *Petite République* and of the *Revue Socialiste*, he founded the famous Socialist daily *L'Humanité*. He favoured the entry of Millerand into the Cabinet, opposing in this J. Guesde and the orthodox Socialists. He was vice-president of the Chamber under the ministry of Combes,

and after the Congress of Amsterdam was instrumental in realizing the unification of the French Socialist forces. His oratory and other gifts made him a brilliant natural leader, and his influence was considerable.

During the Dreyfus affair Jaurès was one of the foremost partisans of the revision of the case. His literary activity in the interests of the Socialist cause was immense. Besides editing the *Humanité*, he contributed to several French and foreign reviews. He was assassinated on the eve of the European War by a fanatic named Raoul Vallon. His works include: *Histoire Socialiste*; *La Réalité du Monde sensible*; *La Constituante*; *La Législative*, and *l'Armée Nouvelle*. Cf. Ch. Rappoport, *Jaurès, sa vie et ses œuvres*.

Jenkins, John, English Labour M.P., born in 1852. Apprenticed to a firm of Cardiff shipbuilders, he subsequently became president of the Cardiff Shipbuilding Society. In 1890 he was elected town councillor, and in 1906 he was returned to Parliament for Chatham, supported by the Labour Committee.

Joffrin, Jules, a French Socialist born at Troyes, died at Paris, September 15, 1890. A mechanic by profession, he organized in 1869 the syndicate of his corporation. He took part in the Commune, escaped to England, but returned to France in 1889. As a Socialist he joined Brousse and Allemane. Elected municipal councillor in 1882, he was returned to the Chamber in 1889.

Johannard, Jules, French Socialist, born in 1837, died in London in October 1888. A very ardent Socialist, he was an opponent of the Empire, and was condemned to prison. On April 16 he was elected a member of the Commune, and after its failure was obliged to seek refuge in England, where he died.

Johnson, Francis, General Secretary of the Independent Labour Party, born in 1878. He joined the Independent Labour Party, and soon became president in his local branch. In 1903 he became assistant secretary, and a year later general secretary of the Party.

Jones, Ernest Charles, born at Berlin in 1819, died at

Manchester in 1868. He studied in Germany, and in 1838 went with his family to England. Here he became a journalist and took part in the Chartist Movement in 1846. For advocating community of property in his articles and in his speeches he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in 1848.

He defended O'Connor, but soon broke with him ; edited the *Labourer* and *Northern Star,* and was appointed a member of the Provisional Government by the Chartists. His works include : *The Battle Day and other Poems* (1855) ; *Evenings with the People* (1856), and a series of political addresses.

Jourde, Francois, French Socialist, born in 1843 at Chassagne (Puy de Dome), died at Nice in 1893. A member of the Commune, he was condemned by the War Council of Versailles to deportation to New Caledonia. He escaped in 1874, with Rochefort, Grousset, and others, and came to Alsace, then to Belgium. After the amnesty he returned to France. He published, with Grousset, *Récit de deux évadés,* and wrote *Souvenirs d'un membre de la commune.*

Kautsky, Karl Johann, Austrian Socialist, one of the foremost exponents of Marxian Socialism, born at Prague October 16, 1854. He studied history and philosophy at Vienna, and in 1883 founded the Socialist review *Die Neue Zeit,* which he edited in London from 1885 to 1888. He was very active in propagating the ideas of Marx and Engels. Kautsky is an opponent of the idea of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (see Part I). His numerous works include : *Karl Marx's oekonomische Lehren gemeinverständlich dargestellt und erlaütert* (1887) ; *Thomas More und seine Utopie* (1887) ; *Die Klassengegensätze von* 1789 (1889) ; *Das Erfurter Programm in seinem grundsätzlichen Teil erläutert* (1904) ; *Der Parliamentarismus, die Volksgesetzgebung und die Socialdemokratie* (1893) ; *Handelspolitik und Sozialdemokratie* (1901) ; *Die Soziale Revolution* (1905) ; *Die Vorläufer des neueren Sozialismus* (in *Geschichte des Sozialismus*) ; *Die Diktatur des Proletariats* (1919).

Kazdanski, Jaroslau, Polish Socialist who took part in

the Commune of Paris in 1871, and defended the Generals Lecomte and Clément Thomas in the Rue des Rosiers. He was condemned to deportation.

Ketteler, Wilhelm Emmanuel von, Christian Socialist, born December 22, 1811, at Münster, died July 13, 1877, in Bavaria. Educated at a Jesuit College, he studied law, and was ordained priest in 1844. In 1849 he was appointed Bishop of Mayence. He devoted his attention to social questions, and was very sympathetic towards the social agitation of Lassalle. He painted the evils of existing society, the miserable position of the labourers, describing *Manchestertum*, or the Liberal Economy of Manchester, as responsible for these evils. Like Lassalle, the non-converted Jew, the Catholic prelate suggested the idea of productive co-operative associations, but whilst Lassalle demanded the assistance of the State, the Bishop appealed to Christian charity. "May God in His goodness," he wrote, "bring all good Catholics to adopt this idea of co-operative associations of production upon the basis of Christianity. Thus alone can salvation be brought to the labouring classes." He believed that the social question was closely connected with Christianity. Alms alone are not sufficient to solve the social question, and only by putting the labourer in the way of bettering his condition by the utilization of capital belonging to him can the end be attained. Ketteler's works include: *Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christentum* (1864); *Die Arbeiterbewegung und ihr Streben im Verhältniss zur Religion und Sittlichkeit* (1869); *Die Grossen Sozialen Fragen der Gegenwart* (1849, 1878); *Liberalismus, Sozialismus, Christentum* (1871).

Kingsley, Charles, English clergyman and author, and one of the founders of Christian Socialism. Born at Holne vicarage, Devonshire, June 12, 1819, he was curate in 1842; rector of Eversley in Hampshire in 1844. Devoting himself to the physical and moral improvement of the working-classes, Kingsley became, together with Ludlow and Maurice, one of the founders of Christian Socialism. He contributed also to the *Christian Socialist* under the name of "Parson Lot."

In 1860 he was appointed Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, and in 1869 Canon of Chester and later of Westminster. He died on January 23, 1875. His works include: *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet* (1849); *Yeast, a Problem* (1849).

Lafargue, Paul, French Socialist, born at Santiago de Cuba, January 15, 1842, died in 1911. He had in his veins Jewish and Caraib blood. He came to France in 1851, was educated at the Lycée of Bordeaux and then studied medicine in Paris. He soon joined the Republican and Socialist movement, was an opponent of the Empire, and a champion of the working-classes, whose cause he defended in his *Rive Gauche* and other papers. Lafargue was one of the principal organizers of the first International Congress of students at Liège in 1865. Expelled from the University of France, he went to England to continue his medical studies, and in London became acquainted with Marx, whose daughter Laura he married. After taking his degree as an English physician he returned to Paris, then went to Bordeaux, where his parents lived. He took part in the Commune, and after its failure escaped to Spain, where he contributed to the Spanish Socialist and anti-anarchist organ *Emancipación*. He was present at the Congress of La Haye, then went to London, and from there contributed to the *Égalité* of Guesde and the *Revue Socialiste* of Malon. In 1882 Lafargue returned to France. For his speeches in the Allier he was condemned with Guesde to six months' imprisonment. During his detention he wrote, with Guesde, the famous *Programme du Parti Ouvrier*.

After his liberation he contributed to the *Citoyen* and the *Cri du Peuple*.

Lafargue was, with Guesde, one of the organizers of the French working-classes, and participated in the Congresses of Marseilles (1892) and of Nantes (1894).

A scientist and an intellectual, he had devoted his great talents to the fight against the social order, and to the task of educating and organizing the working-classes. The popularization of the theories of Marx and Engels, however, constituted the greatest part of his work.

He also published numerous articles in French and in foreign papers, contributing to the *Petite République*, the *Petit Sou*, the *Socialiste*, the *Jeunesse Socialiste*, *Nouvelle Revue*, *Journal des économistes*, *Devenir social*, *Études socialistes*, *Revue des Idées*, and the newly founded *Humanité*. Lafargue's works include: *Droit à la Paresse* (1880); *Le Programme du Parti Ouvrier* (1883); *Cours d'Économie sociale* (1884); *Religion du Capital* (1887); *Communisme et l'Évolution Économique* (1892); *Idéalisme et Materialisme dans l'Histoire* (1895); *La Propriété, origine et évolution* (1895); *La Fonction économique de la Bourse* (1897); *Pamphlets socialistes* (1900); *Le Socialisme et la Conquête des Pouvoirs Publics* (1900); *Le Socialisme et les Intellectuels* (1900); *La Question de la Femme* (1904); *Causes de la croyance en Dieu* (1905); *Detérminisme économique de Marx* (1909). He also translated into French Engels' *Scientific and Utopian Socialism* and the *Communist Manifesto*.

Lamennais, Hugues Félicité Robert de, French priest and writer, born at St. Malo in 1782, died in 1854. In 1824 he was offered a cardinal's hat, but refused it. He advocated the separation of Church and State. During the Revolution of 1830 he became a partisan of the idea of the sovereignty of the people. The same year he began to publish his *L'Avenir*, which had as its motto "God and Freedom," and the aim of which was to preach religious and political reforms. In 1832 this journal was suppressed by the Pope, who, two years later, condemned Lamennais' *Paroles d'un Croyant*, which created a sensation and was translated into many languages.

Landrin, Emile, born in Paris the 3rd of July, 1841. A member of the First International, he was sentenced to prison. After the failure of the Commune, he sought refuge in London. Secretary of the Central Revolutionary Committee, he was returned to the Chamber of Deputies in 1894.

Lassalle, Ferdinand, one of the founders of modern Socialism, born of Jewish parents at Breslau in 1825, killed in a duel by the Wallachian Count von Racowitza

on August 31, 1864. It is perhaps to his origin that we may ascribe that sense of justice so highly developed in Lassalle. The sense of justice is characteristic of the Jewish race (A. S. Rappoport, *Pioneers of the Russian Revolution*, and *Labour, Social Reform, and Democracy*). Although he was intended by his father, a rich merchant, for a business career, Lassalle studied philosophy and philology at Breslau and Berlin. He then went to Paris, where he made the acquaintance of Heine, who described his young friend in a letter as a wonder child (Wunderkind). He then returned to Berlin, where he made the acquaintance of Countess Hatzfeldt, engaged in a dispute with her husband. Lassalle took up her case with youthful ardour, and with his passionate temperament, and after many years of pleading before numerous tribunals, he was able to assert the rights of his client. He took part in the Revolution of 1848, but his real Socialist activity only begins in 1862 and lasts only two years. At that time the German Liberals were endeavouring to gain the support of the working-classes by means of various panaceas (bourgeois, as Socialists maintain), such as co-operative stores and credit associations, of which Schulze Delitzsch was the promoter, and which he maintained were excellent palliatives for the emancipation of the working-classes. Lassalle fought against these illusions, and severely, mercilessly criticized the bourgeois political economy. To these palliatives he opposed the Iron Law of Wages (q.v. Part I), which kept the working-man in constant dependence on and subjection to the capitalist.

Lassalle, therefore, proposed a new programme which he hoped to realize in a legal and peaceful way. He proposed : Firstly, the foundation of a working-men's party independent of the bourgeois parties ; secondly, the conquest and establishment of universal suffrage ; and thirdly, the establishment of associations of production constituted by the working-men themselves and provided with capital by the State. With the ardour of youth, his passionate temperament and his craving for justice, Lassalle threw himself into the struggle. He became the champion of

the working-classes, whom he fascinated and gained over with his magnetic personality and wonderful gift of eloquence. His brilliant speeches electrified the crowds, whose idol he became.

For the first time Lassalle exposed his working-men's programme in a lecture given on April 12, 1862. He depicted the future rôle of the working-classes and their historic mission. The working-classes are to take the place of the landowners of the Middle Ages, of the middle-classes who had become the dominating class through the French Revolution, and of the modern capitalists, all of whom have gained power, but made use of it in their own interests.

The workers, said Lassalle, will now inaugurate a new epoch by establishing Industrial Democracy. Whilst the moral aim of the bourgeois society, by whom Lassalle understands "the class which dominates politically, thanks to its economic strength," is above all to guarantee to the individual the unlimited development of his individual forces, the moral idea of the working-class is to render useful service to the community. "The course of history," wrote Lassalle (*Science and the Working Man*), "is a struggle against nature, against ignorance and impotence, and consequently, against slavery and bondage of every kind in which we were held under the law of nature at the beginning of history. The progressive overcoming of this impotence is the evolution of liberty, of which history is an account. In this struggle humanity would never have made one step in advance, had men gone into the struggle single, each for himself. The State is the contemplated unity and co-operation of individuals in a moral whole, whose function it is to carry on this struggle, a combination which multiplies a million-fold the forces of all the individuals comprised in it, and which heightens a million times the powers which each individual would be able to exert singly."

The aim of the State is not simply to secure to each individual the personal freedom and property with which the bourgeois principle assumes the individual to enter

the State organization at the outset, but which in point of fact are first accorded him in and by the State. The aim of the State can be no other than to accomplish that which, in the nature of things, has always been the true function of the State, namely, to combine individuals into a State, so as to enable them to attain a degree of existence which they could never have attained as isolated individuals. The ultimate aim of the State is to advance the progressive development of human life. Its function is to work out the fine end of man, that is the full degree of that culture of which human nature is capable. It is the education and evolution of mankind into freedom.

To the free exercise of individual forces, the proletariat adds solidarity of interests, community and reciprocity. The cause of the workers is therefore the cause of humanity. Political supremacy gained by the working-classes will consequently result in the development of a high degree of morality, culture, and science which will further civilization. Convinced of the historical mission of the working-classes, Lassalle maintained that the working-men, possessing no capital, were hampered and must remain in a state of dependence as long as they are unable to become producers themselves. This they can only do if the State comes to their assistance. Lassalle's conception of the State is still purely Hegelian. The State, for him, is the organ of right and justice and of general welfare. The whole history of humanity is a struggle against all sorts of obstacles, misery, ignorance, weakness and poverty. As separate individuals men would never have succeeded in their struggle. It is only through the State that a victory is gained, the State being "the union of individuals which increases a million-fold the forces of the individuals." "The aim of the State is the education and development of liberty in the human race." Lassalle, writes E. de Laveleye, did not reveal to the world any new truth. He only popularized ideas borrowed from Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Rodbertus, and, above all, Karl Marx. But it is incontestable that it was the energy of his style, the vigour of his polemics, and to a still greater degree his eloquence and

personal influence, which brought Socialism from regions of dreamy philanthropy and obscure books, little read and understood, to throw it like a firebrand of strife and dispute on the public streets and into the workshops. In two years his burning words and fiery pen had stirred all Germany and created the Democratic Socialist Party (Laveleye, *The Socialism of To-Day*, p. 42).

Lassalle's agitation came to an abrupt end by his tragic death. He fell in love with a German lady, Helen von Doeniges, the daughter of a German aristocrat, who refused to give his consent to her marriage with the revolutionary Jew, Lassalle. The young lady proposed to her lover to elope with her. Lassalle refused, and persuaded her to return to her parents, promising her to obtain the parental consent. She was evidently annoyed, and, pressed by her parents, accepted the advances of another suitor, von Racowitza, and gave Lassalle his *congé*. Furious and mad with despair, the revolutionary Jew challenged both the father of the girl and her accepted suitor. A duel was fought between the Wallachian, von Racowitza, and Lassalle, and the latter was mortally wounded.

Lassalle's works include: *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunkeln* (1858); *Das System der erworbenen Rechte* (1861); a complete edition of his works was edited by E. Bernstein: *Ferdinand Lassalle's Reden und Schriften* (3 vols, 1892-93). Cf. R. T. Ely, *French and German Socialism*; E. Bernstein, *Lassalle as Social Reformer* (1893).

Laveleye, Emile de, Belgian political economist and Christian Socialist, born at Bruges in 1822, died in 1892. He studied in Ghent, and in 1864 was appointed Professor of Political Economy in the University of Liège. Laveleye was not exactly a Socialist, but had Socialist leanings, and especially great sympathy with Christian Socialism. His works include: *De la propriéte et ses formes primitives* (1874); *Le socialisme contemporain* (1881), (English translation, *Contemporary Socialism*); *Eléments d'économie politique* (1882); *Le gouvernement dans la démocratie* (1891); *La monnaie et le bimétallisme international* (1891).

Lavigne, Felix Raymond, French Socialist, born at

Bordeaux in 1851. Secretary of the National Federation of Syndicates and Working Men's Corporations in 1888, he organized the great workmen's manifestation, which took place on February 10 and 24, 1889. It was Lavigne who submitted to the First International Socialist Congress the proposition of an annual Manifestation of May 1 (see *May* 1, Part I). He was the organizer of numerous groups, and founded the papers *Question sociale* and *Socialiste de la Gironde.*

Lavrov, Peter Lavrovitsh, Russian Socialist, born at Melekhovo, in the government of Pskov, June 14, 1823, died in Paris, February 6, 1900. He entered the military academy in 1837, and in 1842 was promoted officer. From 1844 to 1846 he taught mathematics at the School of Artillery and at the Academy of St. Petersburg (Petrograd). In 1852 he began to contribute to various philosophical and literary encyclopædias and reviews, and notably to the *Russian Encyclopædic Dictionary*, the publication of which was suspended by the Government. In 1866 Lavrov, accused of revolutionary ideas, was arrested and exiled to Totma, in the government of Vologda, but with the assistance of his friend, Hermann Lopatin, he managed to escape. He came to Paris in 1870, and here he remained until the end of his life.

Lavrov was one of the most scientific of Russian philosophers. Whilst attaching little or no importance to theological or metaphysical speculations of former generations, he maintained that the real object of philosophy should be the study of facts. He, therefore, devoted his intellectual and moral energy to the philosophy of history, to sociology, and to the elaboration of a system of social ethics. One of the principal problems which Lavrov endeavoured to solve was that of the personality of the individual. Social happiness is nothing but the happiness of the individuals who compose social groups or nations, and they have, therefore, a right to modify the existing forms of society. "We are approaching an epoch," he wrote, "when the realization of the human ideal will be possible; when the instinctive tendencies of the individual

will be brought to harmonize with the welfare of the collectivity. Only the organization of men into one harmonious group, united by the interests of collective work and search for justice, can constitute the happiness of the individual" (*Lettres historiques*). This will be effected only when the intellectuals unite with the masses who are toiling and suffering. These intellectuals should come down from the Pisgah heights into the vast plain of common humanity, take the wandering masses by the hand, and lead them to the promised land flowing with milk and honey. Only a society, Lavrov further wrote, which is based upon justice and that enables all its members to co-operate for their common happiness and progressive development, is moral. Lavrov was at once an individualist and a Socialist. His Socialism has been rightly called *Integral Socialism* (q.v.). Like Malon, the founder of Integral Socialism, Lavrov dismissed the motive of Self-Interest of the materialist school. "Altruism will be the basis of our new morality, which will be neither theological nor metaphysical, but simply social." Cf. Charles Rappoport, *Un peu d'Histoire*; A. S. Rappoport, *Pioneers of the Russian Revolution.*

Lavy, Aimé, French Socialist, born at Bourbon in 1850. A teacher by profession, he was elected municipal councillor and deputy of Paris. He was delegate to the first Congress of working-men in 1876.

Lawrence, Frederick William Pethick, British journalist and Socialist, born in 1871. He visited India, Australia, New Zealand, China, and Japan. He edited the *Echo* from 1902-5, *The Reformer's Year Book*, and the *Labour Record and Review*. His works include *Local Variations in Wages.*

Lee, H. W., British Socialist, general secretary of the Social Democratic Federation, born in London in 1865. Secretary of the Federation in 1885, he was appointed a few months later general secretary, retaining his position for twenty-one years.

Lefrançais, Gustave, French Socialist, born in 1826, died in Paris in 1901. A teacher by profession, he was dismissed

for his political opinions in 1850 and expelled. He returned to France in 1859, was elected a member of the Commune, and after its failure escaped to Switzerland. He was sentenced to death *in contumaciam*. His works include: *Étude sur le mouvement communaliste de Paris* (1871); *Souvenirs d'un Communard* (in the *Cri du Peuple*, 1886-87).

Leroux, Pierre, a French writer, born April 17, 1797, died in Paris April 11, 1871. Leroux was one of the first followers of Saint-Simon, and founded the *Globe* in 1824. In 1848 he was elected deputy of the Constituante. Expelled by the Empire, he went to London, then to Jersey and Lausanne, but returned to France in 1869. His works include: *Encyclopédie nouvelle*; *L'Égalité*.

Liebknecht, Karl August Ferdinand, German Socialist leader, born at Leipzig in 1871, died in 1918. He studied both in his native town and in Berlin, and then practised law. For publishing *Militarismus und Anti-militarismus* (1907) he was accused of high treason, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. In 1912 he entered the Reichstag, where he soon became the leader of the Socialist deputies. In 1914 Liebknecht was the only member of the Reichstag to vote against the war credits. In 1915 he was sent into the army in Alsace.

On account of his revolutionary tendencies and opposition to the war he was sent to prison, where he remained until October 24, when he was released. He immediately became the leader of the radical element of the German Socialists, or the Spartacides (see *Germany*, Part I). On December 23, 1918, a conflict arose between the Spartacus group, headed by Liebknecht, and the Social Democrats, and during the fight Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg were killed. His works include: *Klassenkampf gegen den Krieg* (1893); *Militarismus und Anti-militarismus* (1907).

Liebknecht, Wilhelm, German Socialist, born March 29, 1826, at Giessen; died August 7, 1900, in Berlin. He very early interested himself in Socialist ideas, which he advocated later in Europe, thanks to his knowledge of several European languages, English and French in particular. Liebknecht and Bebel were among the first

representatives of the working-classes in the Reichstag. With Bebel, Liebknecht protested against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871, and, accused of high treason, was sentenced to two years' detention in a fortress. He assisted at the Congress of Marseilles in 1892 and of Lille in 1896.

Lisbonne, Colonel of the French Commune, born in 1838, died in 1905. He was condemned to penal servitude for perpetuity for his participation in the events of 1871.

Lissagaray, Prosper Oliver, French Socialist, born in 1838, died in Paris in 1901. He was an adherent of the Commune and contributed to several Socialist papers. His works include *Histoire de la Commune.*

Lombard, Jean, French publicist, born in 1854, died in 1891. At the Congress of Marseilles in 1879 he was secretary of the Committee of Organization; he edited *La France Moderne* in 1884. He is the author of two novels, *L'Agonie* (1888), and *Bizance* (1890).

Longuet, Charles, French author, a follower of Proudhon, born at Caen in 1833, died in Paris in 1903. For a speech delivered at the Congress of Basle he was condemned to prison. He founded several journals under the Empire, and was the editor-in-chief of the *Journal Officiel de la Commune.* After the collapse of the Commune, Longuet escaped to London, and was appointed Professor of French Literature and Language at Oxford. In 1873 he married Karl Marx's daughter Jenny. After the amnesty he contributed to Clemenceau's *Justice.* He translated and published in 1901 *La Commune,* by Marx.

Lovatt, William, Chartist, born in 1800, died in 1877. Appointed secretary of the British Association for Promoting Co-operative Knowledge in 1830, he became acquainted with Owen and other Socialists. In 1831, having refused to serve in the militia, execution was levied on his furniture. He then joined the National Union of the Working Classes (1831), and the London Working Men's Association (1836), and was secretary of the first Chartist Convention. In 1844 Lovatt organized the Democratic Friends of all Nations. In 1848 he

organized, with Hume and Cobden, the People's League, with a view to uniting the middle-classes. His works include *Chartism* (1847).

Mably, Gabriel de Bonnot de, French Socialist, born at Grenoble in 1709, died in Paris in 1785. He quarrelled with his protector, the Cardinal de Tencin, and consecrated himself to study. He was a moralist, like Rousseau and Morelly, and his works breathe the spirit of love for humanity. Man, Mably maintained, is good by nature, but the inequality of possessions, the wealth accumulated by some, have resulted in wickedness and oppression of man by his fellow-men. The inequality of possessions and of wealth degraded the poor, and was the sole cause of hatred and wars, civil and national. The chief cause of human misery is property. Mably, therefore, attacked the Physiocratic school and their leader Quesnay (1694-1779), and preached Communism. The State, he maintained, should be the owner of everything, and distribute to the individuals all the commodities and goods they require. Property did not stimulate the love of work. Community of goods produces equality, whilst inequality results in despotism. Mably, like Fourier, hated commerce. He even went so far as to approve of a social Revolution. His complete works were published, in 1795, in 15 volumes. Cf. Charles Rappoport, *Un peu d'Histoire.*

MacDonald, James Ramsay, British Socialist labour leader, and since 1924 Prime Minister, born at Lossiemouth, Scotland, in 1866. Educated at a board school, he became secretary of the British Labour Party in 1900 and its leader in 1911. From 1906–1909 he was Chairman of the Independent Labour Party. He entered Parliament in 1906 and was a member of the Royal Commission on the public service of India in 1912. He formed the first Labour Cabinet of Great Britain in 1924. His works include *Socialism and Society; Labour and the Empire; Socialism and Government; The Socialist Movement; Parliament and Revolution.*

Maddison, Fred, British Labour Member of Parliament, born in 1856. A compositor by trade, he was the first

workman member of the Hull Corporation, and in 1886 was elected president of the British Trade Union Congress. He was editor of the *Railway Review*, the organ of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. A member of Parliament from 1897–1900 and from 1906–1910.

Malon, Benoît, French author and Socialist, born June 23, 1841, died at Asnières, September 13, 1893. The son of poor parents, he learned to read only at the age of 20 during a convalescence, whilst staying with his brother, who was a teacher in the neighbourhood. He came to Paris without resources, and worked later in a factory at Puteaux. Inspired with Socialistic ideas, he enthusiastically propagated Socialism among the workmen. He soon became popular and participated in the International, and in 1866 was a delegate to the Congress of Geneva. After being imprisoned for three months in 1868, Malon, with the help of other revolutionaries, founded, instead of the International, a federation of societies of working-men, which he represented at the Congress of Basle in 1868. In 1870 he participated in the strike of Creusot, and soon afterwards became editor of the *Marseillaise*. His correspondence was seized, and he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, but was liberated after the Revolution of September 4.

Malon also took part in the insurrection of January 22, 1871, against the Hôtel de Ville. On February 7 of the same year he was elected to the Assembly, and shortly afterwards became a member of the Commune. He escaped to Geneva, then to Italy, where, in 1876, he was expelled from Milan. He then went back to Switzerland.

After the amnesty he returned to France, became editor of the *Intransigeant*, managed the *Emancipation* of Lyons, and was editor of *L'Égalité*.

In 1886 Malon founded the *Revue Socialiste*. He was also the founder of the so-called *Socialisme Integral* (see *Integral Socialism*, Part I).

His works include: *La Grève des Mineurs*; *Spartacus, ou la guerre des esclaves*; *La Troisième Défaite du prolétariat français*; *Exposé des écoles socialistes françaises*; *L'Internationale, son histoire et ses principes*; *Histoire*

critique de l'économie politique ; *La Morale sociale* ; *Manuel d'économie sociale* ; *Le Nouveau Parti* ; *Le Parti ouvrier en France* ; *Histoire de l'agiotage de 1717 à 1880* ; *Constantin Pecqueur, doyen du collectivisme* ; *Histoire du socialisme* (5 vols) ; *Précis historique, théorique et pratique,* and *Le Socialisme Integral* (2 vols). Cf. Charles Rappoport, *Un peu d'Histoire.*

Marx, Heinrich Karl, founder of Scientific Socialism, born at Trèves (Trier, in Prussia), May 5, 1818, died March 14, 1883. His remains were buried at Highgate Cemetery, in London.

Marx's father was a Jewish lawyer converted to Christianity in 1824. "Baptism," wrote Heine, "opened in these days to the Jews the door to civilization." "Had it been permissible to steal," added Heine, himself a converted Jew, "I would never have become a Christian." Marx's mother was a Dutch Jewess of the name of Pressburg.

He studied law and philosophy at the Universities of Bonn and Berlin, and very early devoted his activity to politics. In 1842 he edited the *Rheinische Zeitung* at Cologne. Among the contributors to this paper were Bruno Bauer, Moses Hess, and Max Stirner, the father of the author of *Der Einzige und Sein Eigenthum.* Marx left the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1843, and went to Paris, where he made the acquaintance of the pioneers of French Socialism. The year 1844 marks a turning point in Marx's life, for in this year he turned towards philosophical and social realism, or Communism. In Paris he made among other acquaintances that of Proudhon, with whom he frequently discussed philosophy. He studied Saint-Simon and his doctrines, and came to the conclusion that the dominant problem of the day was the relation of industry and wealth to politics, and that social revolutions require a material basis. Gradually Marx passes from Hegel's idealism to Feuerbach's humanitarianism, and then to economic materialism.

In Paris he issued, jointly with Arnold Ruge, the *Deutsch-Französiche Jahrbücher,* where he published his study on *The Philosophy of Right of Hegel.* Devoting his attention to the study of French history, the Frenc

Revolution, and political economy, he published with Engels, in 1845, his *Holy Family*, where he outlined his theory on the materialist conception of history.

In 1846 appeared Proudhon's *Système des contradictions économiques ou Philosophie de la Misère*, and Marx perceived what a gulf now separated his ideas from those of Proudhon. He at once replied by writing *Misère de la Philosophie*. In this book he gives a first sketch of his theory of value. He violently attacked Proudhon, who invoked the authority of Ricardo. If the *Misère de la Philosophie* was a sketch of Marx's ideas, the *Communist Manifesto*, which he wrote with Engels in 1848, develops them and contains a complete résumé of his theories. See *Manifesto, Communist*.

Marx settled definitely in London in 1849, contributed to the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and the *New York Tribune*, and in 1859 wrote his *Criticism of Political Economy*. In 1867 appeared the first volume of his famous work *Kapital* (*Capital*, q.v.).

Marx, however, was not only a student, but also a man of action and a political agitator. It was he who was the moving spirit in the foundation of the International in 1864, and it was he who drafted the Appeal and the Statutes of the Association, a work which Mazzini had first been asked to do. These Statutes have rightly been considered a masterpiece, as they allowed the followers of Proudhon, the British Trade Unionists, and the German Communists to unite and work hand in hand. See *International, The*.

After the collapse of the First International in 1872, Marx retired from the political arena, devoting his time to study, but continuing to hold the threads of the International Labour Movement and exercising a considerable influence over the march of events and the development of Socialism.

Even those Socialists who do not agree with all the theories of Marx look upon him as the creator of modern or Scientific Socialism. It has been suggested that Marx had many predecessors in his theories, such as Adam Smith, Thompson, Ricardo, and Rodbertus. This is to a certain extent true, but Marx not only stated the fact, he also

drew the conclusions. The economists had already called attention to *surplus value*, and either endeavoured to find out in what proportion the product of labour is divided between the producer, or labourer, and the owner of the means of production, or, like the Utopian Socialists, suggested means to obviate the injustice. Marx pointed out that this economic fact is bound ultimately to revolutionize political economy. "In order to understand surplus value," wrote Engels, "Marx studied value, and criticized the theories of Ricardo. Proving that labour alone creates value, and that value is 'congealed labour,' he developed the theory of accumulation of capital and its historical tendency" (Engels, in Preface to *Kapital*).

The pivots or corner-stones of Marx's work are his theories of historical materialism, or economic determinism, and his theories of surplus value. These two theories, wrote Engels, namely, the materialist conception of history, and the explanation of capitalist production through surplus value, are the work of Marx, and it is he who raised Socialism to a science.

A Marxian School arose soon after the death of Marx. In 1883 the *Neue Zeit*, under the direction of Kautsky, was founded, and all the exponents of Marx's doctrine contributed to its pages. Amongst the most prominent followers of Marx are: P. Lafargue, J. Guesde, Gabriel Deville, Karl Kautsky, Aug. Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, G. Mehring, Rosa Luxembourg, Belfort Bax, Hyndman, A. Labriola, G. Plekhanov, Emile Vandervelde, Victor Adler, Maurice Hillquit, and Charles Rappoport. For list of works of Marx see Part III, under *Marx*. See also *Capital* (Part I).

Cf. Werner Sombart, *Socialism und die Soziale Bewegung im 19ten Jahrhundert*; K. Diehl, *Ueber Kommunismus und Sozialismus*; K. Kautsky, *Karl Marx's Oekonomische Lehren gemeinverständlich dargestellt und erläutert* (1887).

Maurice, John Frederick Denison, Founder of Christian Socialism, born in 1805, died in 1872. He studied law, but devoted himself to writing on religious and social questions.

Entering the Church of England, he went to Oxford,

soon obtained a curacy, and in 1836 was chaplain at Guy's Hospital in London.

Deeply interested in Socialism, he founded Christian Socialism with Kingsley and Ludlow. It was Maurice who proposed the name of *Christian Socialism*. He contributed considerably to the movement by his writings, and was one of the initiators of the Working Men's College, of which he became the principal. In 1840 he was offered the chair of English Literature and History at King's College, but on account of his social and theological views was obliged to give up his post in 1853. In 1860 he was at St. Peter's, De Vere Street. In 1866 he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge. His numerous works include: *Subscription v. Bondage* (1835); *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy* (1850-57); *Kingdom of Christ* (1838); *Lectures on Education* (1839); *Reasons for not Joining a Party in the Church* (1841); *Social Morality* (1869). His *Life* was edited by his son and published in 1884.

Mehring, Franz, German Socialist and writer, born in Pomerania in 1846. He became editor of the *Neue Zeit* and published several works, such as *Schiller, Jena und Tilsit*, etc. He is, however, best known as an exponent of Scientific and Marxian Socialism. His works include: *Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie* (1879); *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (1897); *Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx*; *Friedrich Engels und Ferdinand Lassalle* (1902).

Meillet, Léon, French politician and Socialist, born in 1842, died at Bordeaux in 1909. He was an opponent of the Empire and of the Government of the Défense Nationale, and was elected a member of the Commune. Condemned for contumacy, he escaped to Belgium, and then to England. He was Socialist Deputy in the French Chamber from 1890-1902.

Menger, Anton, Austrian social politician and jurist, born September 12, 1841, died at Rome in 1906. He was Professor of Jurisprudence at the University of Vienna, and is best known for his work, *Das Recht auf den vollen*

Arbeitsertrag in geschichtlicher Darstellung (1886). An English translation, with an Introduction by Professor Foxwell, appeared in 1899. Other works include: *Neue Staatslehre* (1903); *Neue Sittenlehre* (1905).

Meslier, Jean, French priest and Socialist, born at Mazeray en Champagne in 1664, died in 1733. He studied theology and was ordained priest. A sincere Christian and one of the pioneers of Socialist ideas, he criticized the Christian Church and existing society, pointing out the condition of the oppressed, advising them to unite in their fight against the tyrants. His work entitled *Testament* attracted considerable attention, especially when Voltaire had published an abstract of the work in 1762. The work was published in 1869 at Amsterdam, under the title *Le Testament de Jean Meslier.*

Millerand, Alexandre, French politician and lawyer, born in Paris, February 10, 1859. In 1885 he was elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and contributed to *Justice,* edited by Clemenceau, and to other radical and Socialist organs. In the Ministry of Waldeck-Rousseau he was Minister of Commerce, and Minister of Public Works in the Cabinets of Clemenceau and Briand. Millerand's entry into the Cabinet of Waldeck-Rousseau evoked a protest from the Socialist Party, who declared at the Congress of 1899 that members of the Party should not collaborate with any bourgeois Cabinet. He gradually drifted away from Socialism, and in 1922 became President of the Republic, but was compelled to resign after the elections of 1924.

Millière, J. B., French Communist and publicist, born in 1817, shot by General Garcia on the steps of the Panthéon in May 1871. Editor and administrator of the *Marseillaise,* in 1870, he was a deputy of the Seine, and was a champion of the Commune.

Mink, Pauline Adèle Mekerski (called Paule), French journalist and Socialist, born in 1840 at Clermont Ferrand, died at Auteuil in 1901. An opponent of the Empire, she contributed during the Commune to the *Paris Libre.* After the collapse of the Commune, she escaped to Switzer-

land. She returned to France in 1880, and went to Paris in 1893. She then became very active in the Socialist cause, contributing to several papers, lecturing throughout France. Her works include : *La Mouche et l'Araignée*, and a play, *Le Pain de la Honte*.

Morelly, French writer of the eighteenth century. He was a priest, and devoted himself to social questions. Morelly was evidently what has been called a Utopian or Messianic Socialist. His great work, *Code de la Nature, ou le véritable esprit de ses lois de tout temps negligé ou méconnu*, influenced the conspiracy of Babeuf. Morelly was also the author of *Naufrage des iles flottants à la Basiliade*, a social Utopia. See *Utopias*, Part I.

Morris, William, British poet and Socialist, born in 1834, died in 1896. He was educated at Exeter College, Oxford. Connected with the Rossetti circle, he started designing and manufacturing high-class decorations for house interiors. He also printed books from his private press—The Kelmscott Press. He subsequently became one of the leaders of the Socialistic movement. In 1885 he formed the Socialist League, edited the *Commonweal*, and propagated Socialism.

Besides his works, *The Life and Death of Jason* (1867), *The Earthly Paradise* (1868-70), and *Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Nibelungs* (1876), Morris wrote : *Art and Socialism* (1884) ; *A Dream of John Ball* (1888) ; *News from Nowhere* (1892) ; and *Socialism, its Growth and Outcome* (1894) (with Belfort Bax).

Münzer, Thomas, German fanatic, born in 1490, executed in 1525. He belonged to the Anabaptist Society, preached Socialistic ideas, and promulgated the doctrine of community of goods. See *Anabaptists*, Part I.

Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela, Dutch Socialist, born in 1846. He studied at the Lutheran College in Harlingen, and became a preacher at The Hague in 1875. Devoting himself to Socialist propaganda, he was the founder of Socialism in Holland. He also founded the *Recht voor Allen*, the Dutch Socialist weekly. A member of Parliament (States General) from 1888-91, his views gradually grew more radical, and he opposed the participation of

Socialists in politics. He left the Social Democrats and was often called an Anarchist. He was present at the Socialist Congresses at Brussels (1891) and at Zurich (1893), where he opposed Liebknecht. In 1897, Nieuwenhuis founded a paper called *De Vrye Socialist.* Among his works are *The Life of Jesus* and *The Future Social Democracy.*

Owen, Robert, British Communist, born May 14, 1771, at Newtown (Montgomery), died in 1858. The son of a saddler, he began to work at the age of ten, entering a business firm at Stamford. He came to London four years later, and finally acquired a fortune. He very early began to take an interest in the labour conditions of his time and in the life of the working-classes. The misery of the labouring classes attracted his attention, and all his life he endeavoured to lessen their suffering.

Owen, however, was not content to alleviate the suffering and ameliorate the conditions of life of the labouring classes, but conceived the plan of reorganizing society. Being a philanthropist and an optimist, believing in the goodness of human nature, he addressed himself to the Rulers of Europe, imploring them to reorganize society. He was the initiator of modern Labour legislation, and exhorted both governments and magnates of industry to pay special attention to the workers. He bought the mills at New Lanark, and conducted them on philanthropic and enlightened principles. After agitating in favour of the weak and asking for State legislation, after a period of philanthropy Owen gradually drifted to Socialism, and in 1817 declared, in a report to the Parliamentary Committee considering the Poor Laws, "that the misery of the working-classes is due to competition." He, therefore, claimed for united action of men, co-operation and "subordination of the means of production to the well-being of the masses."

He suggested the creation of agricultural committees limited to 2,000 persons, and in 1825 Owen began his own Communistic experiments. His attempts (see *Communistic Experiments*; *New Harmony,* Part I) failed, but his influence upon British Socialism was immense, and he has been rightly called the "father of British Socialism."

Some of his ideas Owen borrowed from W. Godwin, the author of *Political Justice*, and although he was a Utopian Socialist, his services to Socialism are recognized by Scientific Socialists.

"The name of Owen," wrote Engels, "is closely connected with all the steps towards real progress, with all social reform movements in England and all legislation in the interest of the working-classes."

Chartism was a result of Owenism, and the Owenites have played an important rôle in the history of British Trade Unionism and Co-operation. Owen's works include *The New Moral World*. Cf. M. Beer, *History of British Socialism*; Charles Rappoport, *Un peu d'Histoire*.

Pease, Edward, British Socialist, and general secretary of the Fabian Society, born in 1857 at Bristol. Intended for a commercial career, he entered a merchant's office in 1874, was subsequently a stockbroker, but gave it up and apprenticed himself to a cabinet-maker in a Co-operative Society. Interested in Labour questions, he was one of the most active founders of the Fabian Society, of which he became the Secretary. He was also one of the founders of the British Labour Party and a member of the executive. His works include *The History of the Fabian Society*, and the latest edition (with additional chapters) of Kirkup's *History of Socialism*.

Pecqueur, Constantin, French Socialist, born at Arleux (Nord) in 1801, died in 1887. He drew up the resolutions of the Working Men's Commission of Luxembourg in 1848; was assistant librarian of the National Assembly, and resigned his position on December 2nd.

Pedron, Etienne, French Socialist and song-writer, born in 1849. A watch-maker by trade, he founded several Socialist groups, and was several times candidate for the legislative elections. A collection of his songs, *Chansons Socialistes*, was published in 1906. Among his other works are *Le Naufrage de la Bêtise Humaine* and *Combat Social*.

Pillot, Y. Y., French physician and politician, member of the Commune in 1871. A former clergyman, he left the Church and became a Socialist. He took part in the

Revolution of 1848 and in the Commune, and was condemned to penal servitude for life.

Pindy, Louis Jean, French Socialist, born at Brest in 1849 or 1850. In 1870 he was condemned to imprisonment for having taken part in the International. A member of the Central Committee, he participated in the movement of March 18, 1871, and was elected a member of the Commune. He became a delegate of the military commission and commander of the Hôtel-de-Ville. After the collapse of the Commune, he escaped to Switzerland.

Pottier, Eugène, French Socialist and song-writer, born in Paris in 1816, died in 1887. He was a designer on material, and at the age of fourteen wrote poetry. He founded the syndical Chamber of Designers and was a member of the Working Men's Association. An opponent of the Empire, he was elected a member of the Commune and took part in the "Semaine Sanglante." After the collapse of the Commune, he escaped to England and then went to America.

His life was full of misery and struggle, and in his poetry he sings of the sufferings and misery of the people. His works include: *L'Insurgée*; *Jean Misère*; *L'Internationale*, etc. His *Chants Révolutionnaires* appeared in 1887.

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph, French philosopher, born January 15, 1809, at Besançon, and thus a compatriot of Fourier and of Victor Hugo; died in 1865. Proudhon is usually called the "Father of Anarchism" and the philosopher of social individualism. Scientific and Marxist Socialists, who consider Fourier, Saint-Simon, and Robert Owen as precursors of Marxian Socialism, deny the same epithet to Proudhon, but Proudhon himself declared that he was a Socialist. A Socialist in what sense? In the sense that he wished to organize society on the principles of justice, liberty, and equality. Freedom was the pivot of his doctrines, and this thirst for freedom and individual liberty made him attack modern Socialism, which tends to suppress individual liberty by sacrificing the individual to society or to the collectivity.

"What does one understand by Socialism?" asks Proudhon (*Correspondance*, vol. vii). "Does one understand by Socialism the philosophy which teaches the theory of society or social science? I accept this Socialism. Does one designate by Socialism not the philosophy and the science, but the school, sect, or party which admits this science, believes it to be possible and studies it? I concur in this opinion. In this sense the *Peuple* and the *Representant du Peuple* in 1848 were both organs of Socialism. To-day I loudly profess Socialism, and more than ever believe in its ultimate triumph."

"Very frequently, however, it happens that in economical discussions one applies the term *Socialism* to that theory which teaches sacrifice of individual right to social right, whilst the term *individualism* is applied to the theory which wishes to sacrifice society to the individual. I am following the example of Pierre Leroux, who attacked Socialism and postulated individual right, whilst declaring himself, like myself, to be a Socialist."

Proudhon was thus a Socialist in the sense of social reform and according to his own definition, but an opponent of Socialism in the sense of Marxian, Scientific and modern Socialism. And, indeed, Proudhon has most severely criticized both Fourierism, the scheme of the phalanstère and Saint-Simonism, just as he, in his turn, was severely criticized by Marx. He attacked Communism, which is, to a certain extent, considered as identical with Socialism and Collectivism. "Communism," he wrote (*Les Contradictions économiques, ou la philosophie de la Misère*), "is Utopian. Whenever an attempt is made to introduce Communism, it results in a caricature of property. I am opposed to Communism, and if I am now considered as being the least advanced of Socialists, it is because I have left Utopia, whilst the Socialists are still in it." Communism, Proudhon maintained, is incompatible with family. It is not science, but the annihilation of science. It is incapable of founding a formula of distribution and of organization. It is eclectic, unintelligent and unintelligible. It is the religion of misery. It neither

thinks, nor does it reason. It does not know how to organize, produce and distribute; it suspects labour and is afraid of justice. It borrows its ideas from the most ancient, mystic, obsolete, vague and undefinable traditions. It preaches abstinence in its hatred of luxury, and obedience in its fear of liberty. Communism means privation, everywhere and always. Proudhon was thus an opponent of Socialism, which postulates the community of all means of production, and, whilst admitting private property of consumption, emphatically and categorically denies the private and individual property of production. To say, however, that Proudhon was an absolute opponent of all Socialist tendencies is exaggeration. He maintained that it was unjust for one man to live on the labour of other men, and to accumulate property without having worked for it or given an equivalent for it in work. In *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété? ou Recherches sur le principe du droit et du gouvernement* he declared (in the preface) that his motto is "the hatred of privilege and authority." In this treatise he replied to the question, What is property? with the famous phrase: "La Propriété c'est le vol." Property is theft. But when Proudhon gave his famous definition—wherein, by the way, he had already been preceded by Brissot (q.v.)—he did not claim the abolition of private property and the introduction of Communism. He was in favour of property, because "property is liberty." Proudhon was in favour of individual property, transmissible by inheritance. "The Socialists," he even writes, "attack the right of succession, because they know not how to turn it into a means of introducing equality." The Fourierists and the Saint-Simonians attack the institution of family, because their systems are incompatible with private industry and free exchange; the Communists attack property, because they ignore how property will cease to become a source of abuse under a system of mutuality of services," and later on he wrote (*Théorie de la Propriété*):

"Whatever has been said to the contrary, I have never been animated by any thought radically hostile either to

the institution of property or to the beneficiaries of property. I have only asked for a better justification of the established right, and this with a view to consolidation and naturally also to reform." It is thus with a view to a better and more equitable distribution of private property, based on mutualism, justice and equality, that Proudhon defined property, as it now exists, as theft. This, he thought, could be realized by a federative organization of society and mutualism, under which he understood a formula of justice, hitherto neglected, but in virtue of which the members of society to whatever class they belong, corporations, individuals, families, or cities, industrials, agriculturists, or public officials, will guarantee to each other service for service, credit for credit, value for value, freedom for freedom, and property for property. Work will thus be paid by work, and service by service.

Proudhon thus hoped to subordinate political economy, commerce and exchange to morality. Without being a Socialist in the sense of modern Marxian and Scientific Socialism, without being either a Communist or a Collectivist, he belonged to the Socialism of the first half of the 19th century, and to the group of men imbued with a spirit of justice, anxious for a social reorganization on the principle of equality. They are now accused by Marxian Socialists as being Utopians, or "Social Romantics," but they were nevertheless men of humanitarian principles, and this humanitarianism was coupled in Proudhon with a thirst for and a cult of freedom and individual liberty. It is this cult of freedom, this hatred of authority and privilege, of the oppression of men by men, whether the authority is exercised by a monarch or by a Communist commissary of the people, a dictator in the name of the proletariat, which made Proudhon attack Communism. It is his cult of individual liberty which gained for Proudhon the title of Father of Anarchism.

Proudhon's works include : *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété? ou Recherches sur le principe du droit et du gouvernement* (1840); *Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire* (1849) ; *La Révolution*

Sociale démontrée par le Coup d'État (1852); *Philosophie du Progrès* (1853); *De la Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Église* (1858); *Justice* (1863); *La Guerre et la Paix: Théorie de l'impôt* (1861); *La Fédération et l'unite Italienne* (1863); *Capacité politique des classes ouvrières*. Cf. G. Plekhanov, *Anarchisme et Socialisme*; E. V. Zenker, *Anarchism*; J. Rae, *Contemporary Socialism*.

Pyat, Felix, French politician and Communist, born at Vierzon (Cher) in 1810, died at St. Gratien in 1889. He studied law, and was several times sentenced to prison for his speeches. In 1848 he was elected deputy of the Constituante and of the Legislative, and in 1871 was a deputy in the National Assembly. A member of the Commune, he was condemned to death, *par contumaciam*, but was pardoned in 1884. Returning to France in 1888, he was elected to the Chamber. He wrote many plays, among which is *Le Chiffonnier de Paris*.

Ranc, Arthur, French politician, born in 1831, died in 1908. In 1871 he was elected a member of the Commune. He contributed to the *République Française*, edited the *Petite République*, and in 1905 the *Aurore*. In 1869 he edited *Histoire de la conspiration de Babeuf*, by Buonarotti.

Ranvier, Gabriel, born in 1828, died in 1879. A very popular speaker under the Empire, he was a member of the International. Elected a member of the Commune, he escaped to England after its collapse, and was sentenced to death for contumacy.

Rappoport, Charles, French Socialist (naturalized in 1899), born at Douksty, government of Kovno, in 1865. After studying at Vilna and Berne, where he took his degree (Ph.D.), he came to Paris in 1887. He contributed to the *Neue Zeit* of Kautsky and to the *Socialisme* of Guesde, and writes his articles in French, German and Russian. He is now editor of the *Humanité* (in German) at Strasbourg. A follower of Marxian Socialism since 1892, and a friend of the late Jean Jaurès, he has remained faithful to his conception of Marxian Socialism. He is considered the foremost theorician of Marxiam in France. In 1922 he visited Russia, where he represented the French

Communist Party. His works include: *La Philosophie de l'Histoire comme science de l'Evolution; Socialisme de Gouvernement et Socialisme révolutionnaire; La Philosophie de Pierre Lavroff; un peu d'Histoire; La Révolution Sociale,* and *Précis du Communisme* (translated into ten languages).

Renard, George, French Socialist, born in 1847. He was manager of the *Revue Socialiste,* and is the author of several works: *Régime Socialiste*; *Socialisme à l'Œuvre, Paroles d'avenir,* and *La République de* 1848.

Reybaud, Marie Roche Louis, French economist, born in 1799, died in 1879. He left Marseilles and in 1829 settled in Paris, where he became a journalist and an author. He was deputy for Marseilles from 1846 to 1848, and in 1850 became a member of the Academy of Sciences. Reybaud is best known as the historian of the Socialist School, through his work *Études sur les Réformateurs ou Socialistes modernes* (1840). It was in this work that he made use of the term *Socialisme.* See *Definitions,* Part I.

Rodbertus, Karl, German Socialist, born August 12, 1805, at Greifswald; died in 1875. He studied law in Berlin, and in 1830 turned his attention to political economy. In 1834 he bought the estate Jagetzow, in Pomerania, and settled there in 1836. Although Rodbertus has been eclipsed by Marx, Lassalle, and Engels, and is often even passed by in silence by historians of Socialism, he is one of the representatives of Scientific Socialism, and, according to Professor Adolph Wagner, "the first, the most original and the boldest" (quoted by Dawson, *German Socialism,* 1899, p. 61). If Rodbertus, however, is often forgotten and overlooked, it is because, like Fichte and many other State Socialists, he was no agitator, but a representative of theoretical Socialism, a scholar who laid down his theories in erudite works. Marx, too, was a scholar, but there were two natures in Marx, the scholar and the agitator. In 1848, however, Rodbertus took part in politics, and was a member of the National Assembly in 1848, and of the Second Chamber of the Prussian Parliament in 1849. Rodbertus's system is expounded in his *Letters*

addressed to his friend Von Kirchmann, and published in 1875 under the title, *Zur Beleuchtung der Sozialen Frage*.

According to Rodbertus, the two evils of society are pauperism and financial and commercial crises. These evils are the cause of the contradiction existing between the reality of life and the ideal state. Pauperism and commercial crises, again, are due to the fact that the labourer does not get the entire product of his labour. In consequence of private property consisting in land and capital, the labourers receive out of the national revenue only a bare subsistence, whilst the owners of land and capital usurp the remainder in the shape of rent and interest. Rodbertus applied the principle laid down by Adam Smith and formulated by Ricardo, namely, that wealth is the product of labour. "All economic goods," wrote Rodbertus (*Zur Beleuchtung der Sozialen Frage*), "are regarded as products of labour only, and they cost nothing but labour." Rodbertus, however, did not suggest as a remedy the introduction of Communism, neither did he wage war against land or capital. He suggested that the State should interfere and make the arrangements necessary to guarantee to the labourers a share of the national product. He proposed the abolition of wages-contract and the introduction of a normal workday with a normal form of wages; the introduction of labour-note money, and the establishment of warehouses, where commodities would be paid as wages. Whilst property in land and capital would remain, the labourers would nevertheless share in the increasing production. According to Rodbertus, "the phases of private property in human beings (i.e. slavery, serfdom, and vassalage) and of private property in capital (possession of means of production) would one day be replaced by a phase of private property in income alone. Then every one would receive the full fruits of his labour."

Rodbertus's works include: *Zur Erkentniss unserer Staatswissenschaftlichen Zustände* (1842); *Soziale Briefe an Kirchmann* (1850–51); *Zur Beleuchtung der Sozialen Frage* (1875); *Zur Erklärung und Abhilfe der heutigen*

Creditnoth des Grundbesitzes (2 vols, 1868–69). Cf. W. H. Dawson, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle*; R. T. Ely, *French and German Socialism*.

Rodrigues, Olinde, one of the followers of Saint-Simon, born at Bordeaux in 1794, died in Paris in 1851. Formerly a teacher of mathematics, he became manager of an Hypothecary Bank. Olinde was one of the first disciples of Saint-Simon.

Roland, Lucien, French Socialist and song-writer, born in 1862. Administrator of the *Socialiste*, and librarian of the Party, he contributed to several Socialist papers. His best known songs are: *Complainte du Prolétaire*, and *Stances révolutionnaires*.

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de, French pioneer of Socialism, born in Paris, October 17, 1760, died there May 19, 1825. One of his biographers describes him as "le dernier gentilhomme et le premier Socialiste," the last gentleman and the first Socialist. He entered the army in 1777, went to America in 1779, where he participated in the war of liberation. He then went to Holland, and returned to France in 1786. Already as a youth Saint-Simon had harboured vast and great plans, and gradually he conceived the idea of "founding a new social order, based on industry and science."

One of his earliest theories was that concerning the passions, resembling somewhat the theory of Fourier. Great and useful things can only be produced by men of passions. The more exalted the human soul is, the more easily it is accessible to passions. Men like Luther, Bacon, and Descartes were all men of passions. The scientific organization of society became Saint-Simon's pet idea, and politics he considered as a means of realizing his organization.

Saint-Simon belongs to the class of Socialists of the type of Robert Owen and Fourier. Believing in the perfectibility of humanity, he aimed at a better organization of society, both morally and physically, which would result in an amelioration and in the welfare of the most numerous and poorest class of society. Instead of the exploitation

of man by man, as has been witnessed throughout history during the periods of slavery, serfdom, and proletarianism, he wished to organize humanity on the basis of "association." Convinced that the alliance of Capital and Labour was necessary for the development and organization of society, Saint-Simon was not a Communist, nor was he in favour of class war; what he aimed at was the Socialization of capital and of the means of labour, which should be owned by the State and not remain the sole property of one class at the expense of another. He believed in the collaboration of the industrial class, whom he distinguished from the bourgeois and capitalists, who live only on their unearned incomes without producing anything, and the proletariat. It must be borne in mind that under *industry* Saint-Simon never meant to designate the industrial working-class. Under industry he meant all those who produced work, whether giving or accepting work, in contradistinction to the unproductive classes. This he makes perhaps more clear in his famous *Parabole de Saint-Simon*, which appeared in the *Organizateur* in 1819. In this *Parabole* Saint-Simon asserted that France would still continue to exist without being embarrassed, if she were to lose in one day all the royal family, the high officials, the clergy, and ten thousand of the richest men. But the country would become a soulless mass and remain such for a long time, if she were to lose in one day all her scholars, artists, agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants, tradesmen, and bankers. It is clear, therefore, that by *industrials* Saint-Simon meant all those who produce.

Instead of appealing to the people, however, Saint-Simon constantly appealed to the Government and to the ruling classes, hoping that with their assistance he would realize his hopes and ideas of an ideal society.

Influenced by Fourier, judging everything from the economic policy of the France of his time, he never perceived the antagonism existing between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Capitalist evolution was still in its infancy, or at least in its first stages of development, and Saint-Simon still saw harmony where Marx was soon to

perceive irreconcilable antagonism and war. But towards the end of his life Saint-Simon became aware of the class-consciousness of the proletariat, and postulated it in his *Nouveau Christianisme.*

" The Saint-Simonian scheme," writes J. S. Mill (*Political Economy*), " does not contemplate an equal, but an unequal division of the produce ; it does not propose that all should be occupied alike, but differently according to their vocation or capacity ; the function of each being assigned, like grades in a regiment, by the choice of the directing authority, and the remuneration being by salary, proportioned to the importance, in the eyes of that authority, of the function itself, and the merits of the person who fulfils it. For the constitution of the ruling body different plans might be adopted, consistently with the essentials of the system. It might be appointed by popular suffrage. In the idea of the original authors, the rulers were supposed to be persons of genius and virtue, who obtained the voluntary adhesion of the rest by the force of mental superiority. That the scheme might in some peculiar states of society work with advantage is not improbable. There is, indeed, a successful experiment, of a somewhat similar kind, on record to which I have once alluded : that of the Jesuits in Paraguay. A race of savages belonging to a portion of mankind more averse to consecutive exertion for a distant object than any other authentically known to us, was brought under the mental dominion of civilized and instructed men who were united among themselves by a system of community of goods. To the absolute authority of these men they reverentially submitted themselves and were induced by them to learn the arts of civilized life, and to practise labours for the community, which no inducement that could have been offered would have prevailed upon them to practise for themselves. This social system was of short duration, being prematurely destroyed by diplomatic arrangements and foreign force. That it could be brought into action at all was probably owing to the immense distance in point of knowledge and intellect which separated the few

rulers from the whole body of the ruled, without any intermediate orders, either social or intellectual. In any other circumstances it would probably have been a complete failure. It supposes an absolute despotism in the heads of the association: which would probably not be much improved if the depositaries of the despotism (contrary to the views of the authors of the system) were varied from time to time according to the result of a popular canvass. But to suppose that one or a few human beings, howsoever selected, could, by whatever machinery of subordinate agency, be qualified to adapt each person's work to his capacity, and proportion each person's remuneration to his merits—to be, in fact, the dispensers of distributive justice to every member of a community; or that any use which they could make of this power would give general satisfaction, or would be submitted to without the aid of force—is a supposition almost too chimerical to be reasoned against. A fixed rule, like that of equality, might be acquiesced in, and so might chance or an external necessity, but that a handful of human beings should weigh everybody in the balance, and give more to one and less to another at their sole pleasure and judgment, would not be borne, unless from persons believed to be more than men, and backed by supernatural terrors."

Although his doctrine has been defined as the organization of an industrial society, St. Simon never dreamed of organizing society like some factory. Whilst the State would be the manager of the instruments of labour, the reigning principle would be that of merit. He criticized society and the present social order, but he never preached a return to the past, to the good old days, as some social reformers do. On the contrary, he condemned the past and pointed to the future. "The poets," he wrote, "have placed the golden age" (q.v.) "at the cradle of humanity, in the midst of the ignorance and vulgarity of our first ancestors. This age, however, was the iron rather than the golden age. The real golden age of humanity is not behind but before us."

Saint-Simon's works include: *Lettres d'un habitant de Génève à ses contemporains* (1802); *Introduction aux travaux scientifiques du XIX siècle* (1807); *Nouvelle Encyclopédie* (1810); *De la réorganization Européenne* (1814); *L'Industrie* (1816–18); *La Politique* (1820); *Catéchisme des Industriels* (1823–24); *Nouveau Christianisme* (1825). Cf. Muckle, *Henri Saint-Simon*; W. Sombart, *Die Sozialistischen Bewegungen im 19ten Jahrhundert.*

Sassoulitsh, Vera, Russian revolutionary, born in 1851. On January 24, 1878, she fired at General Trepof, Préfet de Police of Petersburg (Petrograd), and was acquitted by the jury. She went to France, where she took an active part in the Socialist Movement, and was present at several Socialist Congresses.

Schaeffle, Albert Eberhard Friedrich, Austrian sociologist and politician, born in 1851, died in 1903. He was born at Würtemberg, but in 1871 was Minister of Commerce in Austria. Schaeffle is considered by some as a Socialist, because he tried to explain Socialism in his work, *Quintessence of Socialism*, which was translated into French by Benoît Malon, and edited in English by Bosanquet. His later work, *Die Aussichtslosigkeit der Sozialdemokratie*, does not, as some think, prove that Schaeffle was not a Socialist. His works include *Bau und Leben des Sozialen Körpers* (1875–78).

Singer, Paul, German Socialist, born in Berlin in 1844, died there in 1911. He joined the Socialist Party in 1869, and was elected a deputy in the Reichstag in 1884. With Bebel he was one of the leaders of the German Socialists.

Spargo, John, American Socialist, born in Cornwall, England, in 1876. He studied at Oxford and Cambridge, became a Socialist at the age of 18, opposed the Boer War, and left for America, where he settled in 1900. He founded the *Comrade*, a Socialist monthly, and became an exponent of Marxian Socialism. Spargo, as is evident from his latest writings, is a bitter opponent of Bolshevism. His works include: *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906); *Socialism, a Study and Interpretation of Socialist Principles* (1906); *Karl Marx, his Life and Work* (1909); *Applied*

Socialism (1912); *Marxian Socialism* (1915); *Bolshevism, the Greatest Failure in History* (1920).

Spence, Thomas, one of the first British exponents of the theory of land nationalization (q.v., Part I), born 1750 at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, died in 1814. The son of a poor shoemaker, he attracted attention in 1775 by a lecture delivered at Newcastle before the Philosophical Society (*The Meridian Sun of Liberty*), and wherein he recommended the transformation of the soil into collective property. He postulated the equal right of all to the possession of the soil, and maintained that the unjust appropriation of the land by the present idle owners is the cause of the misery of the working-classes. Land should be transferred to the communes, who would farm it out; the commune, however, would have no right to alienate it. Spence, however, is not what is usually called an Agrarian Socialist. Rather did he belong to that group of Socialists who, imbued with the idea of natural equality of men, are anxious to introduce it in the economic domain. He maintained that wealth and property ought to be taken from the hands of the avaricious and lazy, and distributed justly among all the members of society. His ideas of economic justice are expressed in his weekly organ, *Pig's Meat*, which Spence edited in 1795–96, and wherein he constantly endeavoured to prove, by quoting Biblical passages, that the distinction between rich and poor stands in direct contradiction to Divine command. Cf. M. Beer, *History of British Socialism.*

Thompson, William, Irish Socialist and political economist, born in 1775 in the county of Cork, died in 1833. He was a wealthy landowner, and as a philanthropist was early struck by the unjust distribution of wealth. A disciple, follower and subsequently friend of Bentham, he adopted the latter's utilitarian principles and the theory of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." In 1824 appeared his principal work, *An Enquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth most Conducive to Human Happiness.* In the first chapter of this work Thompson, starting from Ricardo's theory, maintains that

no wealth can exist without labour, and that labour alone is the means and source of wealth. "Labour alone is the mother of wealth." Through the institution of private property, labour is deprived of part of the wealth created by it. Thompson thus preceded Marx in the discovery of the theory of *Surplus-value* (q.v., Part 1). He postulated three fundamental principles: (1) Labour should be free and voluntary; (2) The entire produce of labour should belong to the producers of it; and (3) The exchange of products should be free and voluntary. A supporter of Owen, Thompson also advocated the latter's Co-operative system and left his property for the purpose of "promulgating the Communistic principles of Robert Owen." Thompson, it must be observed *en passant*, was an ardent champion of equal rights of men and women. His other works include: *Appeal of one half of the Human Race, Women, against the Pretensions of the other half, Men, to retain them in Political, and thence, in Civil and Domestic Slavery* (1825); *Labour Rewarded: The Claims of Labour and Capital Conciliated, or How to Secure to Labour the Whole Products of its Exertions, by One of the Idle Classes* (1827); *Practical Directions for the Speedy and Economical Establishment of Communities on the Principles of Mutual Co-operation, United Possessions, and Equality of Exertions, and of the Means of Enjoyment* (1830). Cf. A. Menger: *Das Recht auf den vollen Arbeitsertrag* (English translation: *Right to the Whole Produce of Labour*); L. Stephen, *English Utilitarians*; Beer, *History of British Socialism* (vol. i).

Tolain, Henri Louis, French Socialist, born in Paris in 1828, died in 1897. He participated in the formation of the International and was present at several Congresses, where he defended the principle of individual against collective property.

Toussenel, Alphonse, a disciple of Fourier, born in 1803, died in 1885. He was one of the founders of the *Democratie pacifique*, and wrote *Travail affranchi*.

Tridon, Gustave, French revolutionary, born in 1841, died in 1871. A member of the International, he was an opponent of the Empire, and sentenced several times to

prison and to deportation. He founded, with Blanqui, the *Patrie en danger*.

Vaillant, Edouard, French Socialist, born in 1840 at Vierzon (Cher), died in 1915. Educated in Paris, Vienna and Heidelberg, he was a civil engineer and a physician. A member of the Commune, he escaped after its collapse, was sentenced to death *in contumaciam*, but returned to France in 1880. He advocated Socialism, both in the Municipal Council and in the Chamber of Deputies.

Van der Velde, Emile, Belgian Socialist leader, born in 1866. He studied law in the University of Brussels, and very early joined the Socialist movement. He entered the Chamber of Deputies in 1894, and became Chairman of the Socialist group. In 1920 he was Minister of Justice. His works include : *Essais Socialistes* (1906), and *Problèmes d'après-guerre* (1918).

Webb, Sidney, British Sociologist and Socialist, born in London July 13, 1859. He entered the Civil Service in 1878, but resigned in 1891. He was one of the original members of the Fabian Society, and founded the London School of Economics. In 1922 he entered the House of Commons, and joined the MacDonald Cabinet in 1924. His works include : *The History of Trade Unionism* (jointly with his wife, Beatrice Potter) ; *Industrial Democracy ; A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain.*

Weitling, Wilhelm, German Socialist, born in Magdeburg in 1808, died in 1871. A tailor by trade, he travelled all through Germany preaching Utopian Socialism, or Communism, to which he had been converted by reading the *New Testament*. He took part in the revolutionary movement of 1848, then went to America, where he organized a Socialist society called the Arbeiterbund. Weitling was one of the pioneers of Socialism before the advent of Scientific Socialism and the International. His ideal was to form a society which would be a federation of families, governed by leaders chosen by acclamation, and who would distribute the products of labour. Weitling's works include : *Die Menschheit wie sie ist und wie sie sein soll* (1883) ; *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit* (1842) ; and *Das Evangelium eines armen Sünders.*

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